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AN

Impartial Repreſentation

OF THE

CONDUCT

Of the SEVERAL

POWERS of EUROPE,

Engaged in the LATE

GENERAL WAR:

Including a particular ACCOUNT of all the

MILITARY and NAVAL OPERATIONS;

FROM THE

Commencement of Hoſtilities between the Crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN, in 1739,

TO THE

Concluſion of the GENERAL TREATY of PACIFICATION at AIX LA CHAPELLE, in 1748.

To which are added,

LETTERS between MONSIEUR VOLTAIRE and the AUTHOR, relative to this Work, and to the SUBJECT of HISTORY in GENERAL.

By *RICHARD ROLT.*

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for S. BIRT in Ave-mary Lane, J. WAUGH and W. FENNER in Lombard-ſtreet. M.DCC.LIV.

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1754
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To The Honourable

Edward Vernon, Esq;

SIR,

WHEN titles and preferments are bestowed on other naval commanders, it is natural, while a regard for heroic virtue is inherent in Englishmen, for every well-wisher of his country, to enquire, what

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honours are conferred on the conqueror of Porto Bello, and the asſertor of the antient glory of the Britiſh flag? Let them reflect on the ruined caſtles of Carthagena; there the envious Spaniard will give more permanent and illuſtrious honours to the name of VERNON, than all the pompous legends of heraldry.

Scipio is juſtly admired for his continence, Cato for purity of manners, and Fabricius for temperance; theſe were Romans, and the prime of her city, when Rome was, in the zenith of her glory, renowned through the univerſe for virtue and liberty: yet, however celebrated in hiſtory, they were not utterly deaf to the voice of ambition; which, to have reſiſted, would have conveyed their names to poſterity with a brighter

brighter and more exalted luſtre than the deſtruction of Carthage, or the oppoſition of Cæſar and tyranny. It has been your misfortune, Sir, to live in a more degenerate age; yet you have ſhewn a contempt of that ambition which ſullied the glories of theſe eminent favourites of antiquity: you are content to let your actions bear their own teſtimonial to poſterity; and, without envy, can behold ſtars, garters, and coronets, conferred on your cotemporaries. This evinces a truly great and noble mind; a mind conſcious, that having lived and laboured only for the joint ſervice of prince and people, is the nobleſt compenſation of all the toil which attended it, and that a good name is ſuperior to all titles. Therefore, in full confidence, Sir, that you deſerve the regard of every candid

Engliſhman, the AUTHOR, by thus prefixing your name to the FIRST VOLUME of this work, takes a public opportunity of profeſſing to the world how much he is,

SIR,

Your moſt reſpectful,

obliged, and

obedient ſervant,

R. ROLT.

SOME perſons of diſtinction, who encouraged this WORK, being informed that the publication of it had obtained me the friendſhip and correſpondence of Monſieur VOLTAIRE; I was requeſted to oblige them with a ſight of ſome of his letters, which was accordingly done: but I have ſince heard that copies have been ſeen in other hands, and that there is reaſon to apprehend they may make a ſpurious appearance in the world: to prevent which, I have followed the advice of my friends, by taking the liberty of publiſhing what have been ſeen, in the following manner.

R. ROLT.

Monſieur VOLTAIRE *to Mr.* ROLT; *wrote in Engliſh, verbally, as follows.*

SIR, *Potſdam* 1 *Auguſt*, N. S. 1750.

I have received, at *Potſdam*, the obliging letter you directed to *Paris*; but I have not yet received the favour of your book. The wiſdom that ſhines in your letter, raiſes in me, more and more, the deſire to read that performance.

I am confident you have been faithful to your title, in writing impartially, as an honeſt man, and a philoſopher ought to do. You are certainly in the right, when you aſſert the privileges of mankind. 'Tis your duty to love, and to praiſe, the form of the Britiſh government; but do not believe we blame it in *France*. The ſituation of our country, the genius of our nation, and many other reaſons have ſubmitted us to monarchic power, mitigated by the amiable mildneſs of our manners, rather than by our laws. All wiſe men amongſt us live happy under ſuch a government, and admire that of Great-Britain.

As to the taſk of writing a true and complete hiſtory of the late war, 'tis an heavy burthen. I hope you are well informed of all the tranſactions paſſed in your country: all the ſecrets of the back ſtairs at your court, are no ſecret in a few years. Each party ſpies, diſcovers, and exaggerates the intrigues, and the faults, of the oppoſite party: and, from the ſhock of ſo many flints, ſome flaſhes of truth may ſhoot, to enlighten the mind of a wiſe hiſtorian. But in other countries, ſtate-myſteries lie hid under a curtain that few men are able to remove. My office, of the *Crown*'s *Hiſtorian*, intitled me to the communication of all the letters writ to the miniſters. Yet I am not ſatisfied with ſo good materials: and I muſt hunt again after my favourite game, truth, in foreign countries. I travel, like *Polybius*, to ſee the different theatres of the war.

war. I conſult both friends and enemies. I doubt not your book, Sir, will help me very much. Your title which promiſes IMPARTIALITY, ſhall put me always in mind of my duty. Hiſtory muſt be neither a ſatire, nor an encomium; and, I hope, a French-man, and even a gentleman of the king's chamber, *may tell open truth* WITH SECURITY. A moderate man cannot offend, when he will not offend; and he may ſay harſh things, if he never uſes harſh words. I am at leiſure; I'll publiſh my hiſtory as late as I can; but I'll read yours as ſoon as poſſible. I thank you, from my heart; and am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble

obedient ſervant

VOLTAIRE

Gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roy de France.

To Mr. R. ROLT, *at Mr.* HARBORNE's *Portugal Street, par la Hollande, Londres. Franco Roterdam.*

Mr. ROLT *to Monſieur* VOLTAIRE.

SIR

As I am unacquainted with the time of your intended continuance at *Potſdam*, perhaps this direction may be more expedient than by a packet through *Germany*.

I have been juſt honoured with your very obliging letter, and am extremely ſorry you have been diſappointed in the reſt of my volumes, which my publiſher informs me were delivered a conſiderable time ago to the maſter of a Dutch veſſel bound for *Rotterdam:* however, I ſhall take care to ſend another ſett as ſoon as poſſible; though I think, it will be more convenient to defer it till I can get the fourth volume from the preſs, which is almoſt printed off, and will give me a ſpeedy opportunity of ſending you the work complete.

Truth and impartiality are more difficult to be found in the literary world, than honour and honeſty are in the moral; though national partiality may not be diſcommendable; and, excluſive of that, I flatter myſelf, I have conſiſtently acted my duty. The generality of our nation are too credulouſly of opinion, that liberty confines her ſacred influence peculiarly to *Britain*; but, when I look through the political ſyſtem of *Europe*, reaſon almoſt obliges me to diſſent from this adopted tenet of my countrymen. I have been

been told by a nobleman, who is juſtly eſteemed the ornament of this Iſland, that of all abſolute monarchies, *Denmark* is the moſt legal: but I am ſenſible, from the annals of *France*, that the conſtitution of your country is not inferior to the *Daniſh* government; and it ſtands, as an indubitable fact, that a ſovereign of *France* may, if he pleaſes, convey a portion of felicity to his ſubjects, equal to what is enjoyed by the ſubjects of any one monarch in the univerſe. The conſtitution of *Britain*, we are fond to believe, is more conſonant to the law of reaſon, and the liberty of nature, than the form of other legiſlatures; but I ſee no ſuch material difference between an abſolute regal government in *France*, and a miniſterial ariſtocracy in other countries: I am glad to find the ſentiments of liberty pronounced ſo freely by a ſubject of *France*; an *Engliſhman* can do no more: you, Sir, may ſpeak bold, and open truths; but would you think that I cannot? or can you believe that ſeveral important facts have been communicated to me, which I durſt not adventure to promulgate? though I have honeſtly reported thoſe things, which you as honeſtly approved.

Believe me, Sir, I have experienced, and am equally conſcious with yourſelf, that the burthen of ſo extenſive a hiſtory is very heavy: you are infinitely more converſant with nature, men, and nations, than I am; your years give many advan-

vantages to your diſtinguiſhed genius; but, as I am now only twenty five years of age, do not expect my performance to be either full of ſagacity, or elegance: I have, indeed, obtained ſome little reputation here; but I cannot flatter myſelf with the hopes of your approbation: however, your candour and humanity, will accompany my youth and inexperience. I ſhall be proud of embracing every opportunity of teſtifying my regard for you, and, with the greateſt ſincerity,

I am,

SIR,

Your very

obedient ſervant,

Auguſt, 7th. 1750.

R. ROLT.

Monſieur *Voltaire to* Mr. *Rolt*, wrote in *Engliſh*.

S I R, *Berlin*, 3 *Auguſt*, N. S. 1751.

I Received your kind letter but yeſterday, though it was dated *December*. Your letter expected me at *Paris* with your book; and that book conveyed from *Rotterdam* to *Berlin*, was again ſent to *Paris* by one of my friends, while I was rambling in the country; becauſe, at that time, I was ready to make a journey to *Paris*: So, by two miſtakes, I had but yeſterday your book and your letter; and I return you many thanks for 'em both.—But I had already read your curious hiſtory, with much pleaſure. The good patriot, and the faithful hiſtorian, ſhine through all the work. I hope you have met with the applauſe of your country, and you ſtand in no need of foreign praiſes. I expoſe you my own ſatisfaction; rather than I attempt to compliment you. I cannot ſay, good Sir, with what true ſentiments of eſteem, I am, ſincerely from my heart,

S I R,

Your moſt humble

obedient ſervant

VOLTAIRE.

A Monſieur Monſieur *Richard Rolt*, at Mr. *Harborne*'s, Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn, *London*.

Franco Amſterdam.

THE

PREFACE.

CICERO has judiciouſly remarked, that the firſt law of hiſtory, is to advance no falſhood, and ſuppreſs no truth: hence it is evident, that the chief quality the public ſhould expect in a hiſtorian, is ſincerity; and that he ſhould let nothing eſcape him which may forfeit the confidence of his readers. An author, dependant on a government, concerned in the events which he relates, will find himſelf too greatly embarraſſed to reconcile truth with flattery and particular intereſts. Deſpreaux, the celebrated hiſtorian of France, who was nominated by Lewis XIV. *jointly with Monſieur Racine, to write the hiſtory of his reign, was ſenſible of this difficulty; and ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he knew not what reaſons to alledge for the juſtification of the war againſt Holland in* 1672: *which was a bold inſtance of integrity from a ſubject of ſo arbitrary a prince, at the head of ſo deſpotic a government. The author of the preſent undertaking, has been honoured with the favour and*

and confidence of some eminent persons, who were principally concerned in many of the important events comprized in his work; and, as he aims at nothing but uncorrupted impartiality, doubts not but his honest endeavours will obtain that encouragement, the public never fail to confer, on such as labour only to advance the general interest of the nation.

UNLIMITED power in one person, seems to have been the first and natural recourse of mankind from disorder and rapine; and such a government must be acknowledged to be better than no government at all; but all restrictions of power, made by laws, or participation of sovereignty, among several persons, are apparent improvements made upon what began in that unlimited power; for absolute power in one person, as generally exercised, is not indeed government, but, at best, clandestine tyranny, supported by the confederates, or rather the favourite slaves, of the tyrant.

LIBERTY is, therefore, essential to the happiness of men, and they who resign life itself, rather than part with it, do only a prudent action; but those who lay it down, and voluntarily expose themselves to death in behalf of their friends and country, do an heroic one: the more exalted part of our species are moved by such generous impulses as these; but even the community, the mass of mankind, when convinced of the danger of their civil rights, have, in all ages, and in all nations, been anxious of preserving to themselves that dearest of all possessions, Liberty. This generous ardour made Greece so long, and so formidably, independent; in Rome, the love of parents,

rents, children, life, friends, and even glory, the moſt dazzling conſideration! were but ſecondary paſſions, and in all reſpects, ſubſervient to that of liberty; other nations, more or leſs, have ſtruggled for, though few can now boaſt the enjoyment of, this divine beatitude; but, thanks to heaven! it ſtill reſides iu Britain.

WITHOUT liberty, even health and ſtrength, and all the advantages beſtowed on men by nature and providence, may, at the will of a tyrant, be employed to their own ruin, and that of their fellow-creatures. This liberty, among the inhabitants of Great Britain, conſiſts, in their living under laws of their own making, by their perſonal conſent, or that of their repreſentatives; and the perpetuity of this will be dear to every Briton, who loves the religion and laws of his country; its worth will be revered by every man who knows the happineſs of a limited monarchy, circumſcribed with the bulwark of ſalutary laws, which equally protect the ſubject from an invaſion of the prince, and the prince from any inſult of the ſubject.

THE Engliſh, very juſtly, indulge an opinion, that no nation excells them in gallantry, in honeſty, in fidelity, or in any martial or ſocial virtue; but too confident a ſecurity has occaſioned the ſubverſion of many brave and flouriſhing nations; and it is not altogether impoſſible, but this may, one day, guide the ax to the very root of the Britiſh conſtitution. If Greece and Rome thus fell from the ſummit of human grandeur, where is the country that may not unhappily ſuffer the ſame declenſion? No people were ever more jealous of liberty, or ever longer or more ſucceſsfully defended it,

than the antient Germans; it may indeed be said, that liberty, being driven out of the best part of the world by the Roman arms, took refuge on the further side of the Rhine; where she had for her companions and guards, poverty, innocence, frugality, and modesty; where, in the fastnesses of woods and morasses, she combated 500 years against tyranny and ambition: but these bold and hardy Germans at length submitted to the oppression of Rome. The French once enjoyed the same happiness and privileges with England: their laws were made by representatives of their own chusing; their money was not taken from them, but by their own consent; their kings were subject to the rules of law and reason; but now they are miserable, and all is lost! their monarch reigns absolute over an unfortunate people; and while his court is the residence of ambition, luxury, voluptuousness, flattery, and corruption, he will endeavour to bring all mankind under his arbitrary subjection: this has been frequently attempted, and as happily repulsed; though it will eternally be the employment of France, to forge manacles for the free part of Europe, which she will never fail to make use of, whenever her strength and opulence shall enable her to violate the most solemn treaties, and scatter every pestilence of war to accomplish her destructive purposes.

A Claim to the British monarchy, in favour of an abjured and fugitive pretender, will be revived by the crown of France on every favourable occasion, till popery and ambition become quiet and inoffensive neighbours; and the powerful French, who deal out crowns

and

and kingdoms all around them, may in time, if not carefully prevented, exalt a prince on the Britiſh throne, who ſhall act only as the vice-roy of France, ſhall curb our necks to the yoke of tyranny, ſubvert our happy laws and conſtitutions, and ſnatch from us every great and glorious privilege, ſo nobly procured, and ſo valiantly defended, by the courage, the wiſdom, the lives, and fortunes, of our progenitors. But Britons! let us hope, that theſe invaluable bleſſings, will deſcend from us to our poſterity, as immaculate as we received them from our anceſtors; let us point out to our deſcendants, how we have exerted the influence of our country, and preſerved our conſtitutional freedom, at a time when the liberties of all mankind were invaded by the aſpiring principles of France; let us trace out what are the indelible marks of our natural and perpetual ſecurity; let us ſee what were our hearts and tempers at home; in what hands was power lodged abroad; and, by tracing out the diſſentions of the ſeveral courts of Europe, and our own unnatural diviſions, let us repreſent to poſterity, how happily the Britiſh nation have extricated themſelves, their allies, and all Europe, from the dangerous ſnares, ſo inſidiouſly ſpread for their captivity, by the artifices of France. We can neither know our ſecurity, nor be ſenſible of our danger, from any partial view of our condition, or from appearances of one ſide only; but muſt judge of our condition, from the circumſtances of affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular: therefore it is apprehended, this undertaking may be of ſome advantage to the public; eſpecially, if we grant

the saying of Livy to be true, "That the utility of "history, furnishes the reader with examples of all "kinds, set before him in an impartial light, whence "he may chuse for himself and country, what he ought "to imitate; and there he may see, what he ought to "avoid, as being shameful in the undertaking, and "fatal in the event."

THESE are only arguments, to shew the necessity of such a work, for the benefit of posterity: and many instances may be given of its utility to our cotemporaries; of which it has been thought proper to mention the following, as the most material. The motives that may engage a wise prince, or state, in a war, may be one or more of these: either to check the overgrown power of some ambitious neighbour; to recover what had been unjustly taken from them; to revenge some injury they have received; to assist some ally in a just quarrel; or to defend themselves, when they are invaded. The foundation of the first war, for ten years after the revolution, wherein the Emperor, England, and the Dutch, were principals, was, in the general view, to curb the ambitious designs of France; and, in regard particularly to England, was to make Lewis XIV. *acknowledge William* III. *and to recover Hudson's Bay. The succeeding war, in the reign of Queen Ann, was commenced upon the same general motives; in which England was the more particularly concerned, by France putting an indignity and affront on her majesty, in granting an asylum to the pretended Prince of Wales, and asserting his claim to the crown of England. The late war between Great Britain and Spain,*

was,

was, to preſerve the right of the Britiſh navigation, and to obtain ſatisfaction for the depredations committed by the Spaniards: this, and the general war commenced againſt the heireſs of the houſe of Auſtria, were both fomented by France; the firſt with a view to exhauſt and impoveriſh the power and wealth of Britain; and the latter, to ſubjugate her Auſtrian opponent, who had long blocked up the paſſage between France and univerſal empire. The two former wars have been already copiouſly related; and as the two latter have been proſecuted with the effuſion of the blood of thouſands, and continued with the expence of millions, it ſeems as neceſſary now, as it was then, that the public ſhould be freely, and impartially, told with what juſtice theſe wars were commenced; what circumſtances they were in; after what manner they have been treated, by thoſe whom they entruſted ſo many years with the diſpoſal of their blood and treaſure; and what are the conſequences this management is like to entail upon themſelves and their poſterity.

AS to the work itſelf, if it does not give that univerſal ſatisfaction the author would be ambitious to beſtow; he is convinced that not the leaſt imputation of flattery, or partiality, can be thrown upon him by the diſpaſſionate and unprejudiced part of mankind: though, where there is ſuch little unanimity in the ſentiments of men; while prevalence of party, ſhall make one perſon commend, what another will as readily diſapprove; very precarious is the reputation of a writer: however, where the author has endeavoured to do juſtice to the brave and worthy man, this he affirms, that his encomiums

ariſe

arise from no blind adulation, but proceed from a conviction in his own breast, of their propriety. Certainly the public have different opinions of the same men, and the same things; many are deceived by interest, prejudice, and passion; some by envy, and others by detraction: from these, the deserving man, however meritorious, can never extort the least approbation; and they hate to read those public praises, they will not, out of some private antipathy, bestow themselves: but to such as these, the author recommends the observation of a great and ancient example, in Augustus Cæsar: this prince, who was extremely jealous of his power, having surprized one of his grand children reading the life of Cato, he encouraged the boy, who wanted to conceal the book, bidding him read on, "For Cato "was a brave patriot, and a good man;" and though the government of this monarch was founded upon the ruins of the republican virtues of Cato, he could always, with pleasure, hear his favourite poets, Virgil and Horace, bestow the strongest encomiums upon so eminent a patriot of the common-wealth.

IT is not the true intent of history, so much to load the memory of the reader with a copious collection of public records, as it is to elevate his thoughts and enrich his understanding: and the ingenious Voltaire has delivered it as his opinion, that historians should incorporate reflections with the series of events related, because the dry way of writing is neither so instructive or pleasing, as when the author intersperses a moral disquisition, or animates the reader by a bold and beautiful expression: how far the present

preſent undertaking is agreeable to the ſentiments of this eminent Frenchman, will be more proper to be conſidered by the reader, than aſſerted by the writer.

TO render the work as perſpicuous as poſſible, the author has taken a method, that ſeemed to him the moſt eligible, for preſerving a proper connection and dependency throughout the tranſactions of every year: for this purpoſe, he has divided the work into ſeveral parts, every part comprizing the events of a particular year; theſe parts are thrown into diſtinct diviſions, to avoid the confuſion that otherwiſe would have ariſen by blending the land and naval wars in a promiſcuous order together; and theſe diviſions are ſubdivided into different chapters, whereby every material action, independent of others, remains diſentangled and ſtands in the moſt conſpicuous ſituation for the obſervance of the reader; who is alſo to take notice, that the Engliſh chronology, in beginning the year on the 25th day of March, had it been purſued, would have made it impoſſible to reconcile it with the dates of foreign tranſactions, becauſe moſt other nations begin the year on the 1ſt of January; and therefore their date has been adhered to by the author.

THE

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PAGE 18. L. 29. dele to. P. 23. L. 34. for that read than. P. 30. L. 15. for Stafford read Strafford. P. 32. L. 7. for of read off. P. 38. L. 7. for order read ordered. P. 75. L. 23. dele and. P. 81. L. 6. for purſuing read taking. P. 85. L. 10. for out-penſions read out-penſioners. P. 92. L. 34. for called read call. P. 93. L. 30. for wantoning read wantoneſs. P. 119. L. 23. dele had. P. 127. L. 10. dele the laſt and. P. 135. L. 23. after him, read the. P. 147. L. 32. for port read poſt. P. 161. L. 24. for raiſe read play. P. 248. L. 34. for autocracy read autocratrix. P. 284. L. 5. dele he. P. 293. L. 5. for November read April: and L. 31. for motions read emotions. P. 301. L. 8. for 1740 read 1741. P. 314. L. 7. for deſigned read deigned. P. 320. for 1740 read 1741. P. 373. L. 28. for dictators read dictator.

THE

FIRST PART:

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT of HOSTILITIES

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN

In M DCC XXXIX.

TO THE

Death of the Emperor CHARLES VI.

In M DCC XL.

CHAPTER I.

An introductory ſtate of the treaties and differences ſubſiſting between GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN, from the treaty of 1667, to the convention in 1739.

FREE and unmoleſted navigation through the ſeas of America, is an indubitable right of the crown of England by the law of nations, immemorially enjoyed, and eſtabliſhed by many treaties. The violation of this right, has been the baſis not only of the late, but many preceeding contentions between the monarchs of Great Britain and Spain: for the Spaniards had long exerciſed too extenſive privileges in the ſeas of America, to the manifeſt detriment and prejudice of the Britiſh trade; till at length the ambition of Spain was arrived to ſuch an unlimit-

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ed height, and attended with so many aggravating circumstances, as to diffuse a just spirit of indignation and resentment throughout the whole British nation; the people all glowing with an unanimous resolution, to vindicate their right and freedom of navigation, from the insolent and unauthorized oppression of the Spaniards. To arrive at a true and perspicuous knowledge, of the contested matters that gave rise to the late war between Great Britain and Spain, a retrospection is necessary to some of their former transactions, and to the several commercial treaties subsisting between the two crowns; and this without any further deduction of historical Facts, will sufficiently serve to illustrate and explain the nature and foundation of all misunderstandings and controversies between the two kingdoms.

1648. THE first treaty with regard to navigation and commerce in the West Indies, was concluded at Munster, between Philip IV. of Spain and the States General, on the 30th of January, 1648; wherein it is stipulated by the 5th article, "That the contracting parties, should retain "and enjoy their possessions and commerce in "America, and other places, as they then re"spectively held the same." And by the 6th "article, "The subjects of each were forbid to "navigate and trade in the ports and other "places possessed by the other in the West In"dies." There is no greater restriction, with respect to the navigation and commerce of the subjects of the States in these parts, than there is with respect to the Spaniards; those seas being left free and open, equally to both; the prohibition of the one navigating and trading in the possessions of the other is mutual, without

out any diſtinction or reſervation of a greater preheminence, or of any liberty given to one preferably to the other, to ſtop and viſit veſſels in the ſeas of America. CHAP. I.

THE like ſtate of navigation and commerce, was concluded between England and Spain, by the 8th article of the treaty made between thoſe crowns the 23d of May, 1667; whereby it is agreed with reſpect to the two Indies, "That Spain ſhall grant to England, all "that has been granted to the States General "of the United Provinces in the treaty of Mun-"ſter in 1648." And in the 14th article of this treaty, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, "That no "guarda coſta or ſhip of war belonging to "Spain, ſhall come within cannon ſhot of an "Engliſh ſhip, if ſhe meets the latter at ſea; "but ſhall ſend their long-boat or pinnace "to the Engliſh ſhip, with two or three men "on board, to whom the maſter or owner "ſhall ſhew his paſſports and ſea letters; where-"by not only the ſhips lading, but the place "to which ſhe belongs, and as well the maſ-"ter's and owner's name, as the name of the "ſhip may appear; by which means the quality "of the ſhip, and her maſter or owner will be "ſufficiently known, as alſo the commodities "ſhe carries, whether they be contraband or "not; to the which paſſports and ſea letters, "entire faith and credit ſhall be given." And if it ſhould appear, that prohibited goods are on board an Engliſh ſhip, it is by the 15th article of the ſame treaty declared, that "Thoſe "prohibited goods are only to be ſeized and "confiſcated, and not the other Goods. Nei-"ther ſhall the delinquent incur any other pu-"niſhment, except he carry out from the do- 1667.

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" minions of Spain any gold or silver, wrought " or unwrought."

NOTWITHSTANDING this treaty, the buccaneers or freebooters of America, composed of English, French, Portuguese and Dutch, committed many piratical expeditions on the Spanish main; returning to Jamaica with their plunder, which was so considerable and beneficial to the island, that the governors, though they did not openly protect and encourage their undertakings, yet were far from refusing them an asylum, while they spread such a flow of treasure in the country.

UNDOUBTEDLY the Spaniards sustained immense losses from the buccaneers, for the gang under Morgan, in their several expeditions, brought to Jamaica no less than 950,000 pieces of eight, besides cloth, linnen, silk, slaves and other profitable merchandizes, to a prodigious value.

THE Spanish minister presented memorials at the court of London, complaining of this usage in America; and though the English ministry dispatched orders to their American governors, directing a cessation of hostilities and a restitution of unjust captures, and communicated these dispatches to the Spanish minister before they were sent, yet frequently a private packet by the same ship, to the same governor, enjoined him to pay no regard to these memorials, but to make the best use of his time and power in impoverishing the Spaniards.

1670. IN this reign the Spaniards were very incapable of opposing the naval force of England so they had no other recourse left, than by a negotiation to secure to themselves, those valuable advantages they reaped from their possessions

ons in America. Of this they were so desirous, that they very readily discharged the English crown of a national debt of two millions, then due to Spain, to confirm by treaty, their rights in the West Indies. Upon such motives, and as the former treaty of 1667 was found liable to many altercations, a more particular treaty was executed at Madrid, the 18th of July, 1670, "For accommodating differences, preventing "depredations, and settling a peace in Ameri-"ca;" wherein are express declarations, "That "it is always to be understood, that the free-"dom of navigation, ought, by no manner of "means to be interrupted, when there is no-"thing committed contrary to the true sense "and meaning of these articles;" wherein there is not one word of search or examination, all restrictions being general and of the same tenor with the Munster treaty, that the subjects of the one monarch should not trade to the places possessed by the other, without particular licence; but in case stress of weather, or want of provisions, obliged the ships of either party to enter the ports of the other, they were to be treated as friends, and supplied with every thing they wanted for their money, and to depart at their own pleasure.

CHAP. I.

YET the buccaneers still continued their invasions, and the Spanish embassador at the court of king Charles II. reported, that the governor and merchants of Jamaica not only encouraged, but were principally concerned in manning out the buccaneers; and in consequence of this report, by order of the king and council, Sir Thomas Lynch, then governor of that island, was recalled from his government, to appear at court and answer such articles as were presented against him

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by the Spaniſh miniſter, for maintaining pirates in thoſe parts, to the great loſs of the ſubjects of the king of Spain; but in 1680 he returned with a new commiſſion to his government.

THOUGH Capt. Morgan had received the honor of knighthood, and lived privately on the fortune he had acquired by buccaneering, he was alſo, upon a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, ſent priſoner to England; notwithſtanding he had done nothing but by commiſſion from the governor and council of Jamaica, and had received their formal and publick thanks for his gallant behavior; but without being charged with any crime, or brought to a hearing, after a confinement of three years he was diſcharged.

HOWEVER culpable the Spaniards thought the governors of Jamaica in ſheltering the buccaneers, after the treaty of 1670, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, they were no further inſtrumental in promoting their enterprizes than permitting them to inhabit there, and profuſely ſquander away thoſe riches for which they had ſo dangerouſly hazarded their lives: for it is certain that Mansfield, one of their leaders, after his conqueſt of St. Katherine's, ſeeing that iſland ſo pleaſant, fruitful, and conveniently ſituated for invading or roving on the Spaniſh coaſts, had an intention of forming a ſettlement there; but Sir Thomas Lynch, then governor of Jamaica, prevented it, as being too notorious a breach of the peace then ſubſiſting between the crowns of England and Spain. While the duke of Albemarle was governor of Jamaica, king James II. granted a commiſſion to Sir Robert Holmes, to ſuppreſs pirates in America; and Sir Robert procured a proclamation to be publiſhed, "For "the more effectual reducing and ſuppreſſing

"pirates

" pirates and privateers in America:" he alſo appointed Stephen Lynch, Eſq; to be his agent at Jamaica, whither he carried the before-mentioned proclamation, and ſent it to the Spaniſh ports, as well to the north ſea as to Panama on the ſouth ſea, being furniſhed with paſſports from the court of Spain. And in 1698 the Scots having ſettled at Darien, fortified Golden Iſland, at the bottom of the gulph, where the iſthmus between that and the ſouth ſeas is ſo narrow that few men might defend it againſt multitudes, and deny all paſſage that way to the Spaniſh ſettlements; but king William regarding the ſtrict alliance he had entered into with Spain, and deeming this ſettlement of the Scots a breach of it, would not ſuffer his Engliſh ſubjects to aſſiſt the new colony; and though this was a fair opportunity of poſſeſſing that iſthmus, and encreaſing the trade, riches and power of the Britiſh empire, yet the king ſent orders to his governors in the Weſt Indies to grant them no ſupply of proviſions, the want of which obliged the Scots to abandon their ſettlement; and as ſeveral of the buccaneers were afterwards executed as pirates, by orders of the court of England, and thereby the whole gang was extirpated. This evidently ſhews, that after the treaty of 1670, the Engliſh miniſtry were far from encouraging the buccaneers; though probably at the ſame time the governors of Jamaica exceeded their commiſſions, by conniving at the deſigns of theſe bold and deſperate adventurers. CHAP. I.

THE kings of Spain have aſſumed the ſole propriety of trading to their own ſettlements in America, not only from the other potentates of Europe, but even from their own ſubjects; prohibiting any commerce in thoſe parts, unleſs the

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the goods are ſent to Spain, and ſhipped in the galleons or flota regiſtrated by his catholic majeſty, and ſubjected to his duties and indultos. This occaſioned the Spaniſh merchants in America to give great encouragement to the traders of Jamaica, to ſupply them with negroes, ſtuffs and other Engliſh manufactures; which, though detrimental to the Spaniſh crown, as it was thereby defrauded of its duties; yet, as the ſubjects found many advantages in this clandeſtine trade, the Engliſh never failed of making very profitable markets. Of this, the miniſters who concluded the treaty of 1670 were ſo ſenſible, that in order to preſerve inviolably the friendſhip between both nations, they made a peculiar clauſe therein, "That particular offences "ſhall no way be a prejudice to this treaty, and "cauſe no enmities or diſſentions between the "two nations; but every one ſhall anſwer for "what he has done, and be proſecuted for contra-"vening it; neither ſhall the one have recourſe to "letters of reprizals, or any other methods of the "like nature, to obtain reparation of the other, "unleſs juſtice be actually denied, or unrea-"ſonable delays uſed in adminiſtring the ſame."

DURING the reigns of Charles II. James II. William III. and queen Anne, the Spaniards never attempted to ſeize any Britiſh veſſels in America, on pretence of having prohibited goods on board in time of peace; but the guarda coſtas acting under very extenſive powers, and many of them being fitted out only with lucrative views, by the merchants of Spain, the Spaniſh inhabitants of America, and ſometimes by the governors of their ſettlements there, and theſe governors being perſonally prejudiced by the trade carried on by the Engliſh, repreſented

ſented it at Madrid much greater than it really was, in order to obtain commiſſions of reprizal; alledging that the ſubjects of England trafficked in the ports and on the coaſts of the Spaniſh colonies, protected by Britiſh men of war and the governors of the Britiſh plantations; till at length, after repeated applications, the Spaniſh miniſtry gave power to the American guarda coſtas, to ſtop and ſearch all Engliſh veſſels they ſuſpected of carrying on this trade, and to confiſcate ſuch cargoes, as conſiſted of logwood, cocoa, or pieces of eight, as legal captures, in direct violation of the treaties of 1667 and 1670: and under this ſanction, the Spaniards committed the moſt outrageous acts of violence on the Engliſh.

THIS privilege was much too unlimited; for cocoa is the produce of the Britiſh colonies, and pieces of eight the current ſpecie of the Weſt Indies; and as to the other commodity, the Engliſh ſeem to derive a liberty of cutting logwood on the coaſts of Honduras and Campeachy, with as much propriety as the Spaniards; for by the 7th article in the treaty of 1670, it is ſtipulated, "That the crown of England ſhall "always poſſeſs in full right of ſovereignty, all "places in America, which the king of England "or his ſubjects then held or poſſeſſed, in ſo "much that they neither can nor ought here-"after to be called in queſtion." Theſe words are ſufficient to remove all objections raiſed by the Spaniards, as to the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the province of Yucatan, and their right of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy; for it appears by the report of the lords of trade and plantations, made in conſequence of an application by the merchants to king George I. "That

"the

PART I. "the treaty of 1670 eſtabliſhed a right in the "crown of Great Britain to the Laguna de Ter- "minos, in the province Yucatan, as being "at the time of the treaty, and for ſome years "before, actually in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh "ſubjects." The Spaniſh claim of orignal conqueſt, on which they ſo much depend, means nothing in this caſe, as it cannot extend to places they never poſſeſſed, of which number is the Laguna de Terminos: and the Muſcheto Indians, having preſerved themſelves from the Spaniſh yoke, the better to maintain their liberty, in the reign of king James II. ſubmitted to the protection of the Engliſh, and have ever ſince retained an inviolable friendſhip to that nation. As the Muſchetoes border on the uninhabited part of Honduras, they have the beſt right to the cutting of logwood there, and this right ſeems by their ſubmiſſion to be transferred to the Engliſh; ſo that the Engliſh right of logwood ſeems well grounded both in Honduras and Campeachy.

1713. AFTER the proclamation of the peace of Utrecht, or rather the declaring a ſuſpenſion of arms between Great Britain and Spain, the Spaniards exerciſed their violent inſults on the Engliſh, whoſe loſs, in leſs than one year afterwards, amounted to above 200,000 pieces of eight; for which, though they demanded ſatisfaction, they were never able to obtain the leaſt; when at the ſame time, the governor of Domingo having charged the Engliſh with landing at Hiſpaniola, and carrying off negroes, indigo and other goods, to a great value, the governor and council of Jamaica, ordered and made an ample reimburſement to the Spaniſh ſufferers.

On acceptance of the assiento contract by the south sea company, pursuant to the treaty between her late majesty queen Anne and king Philip V. of Spain, concluded at Madrid the 26th of March, 1713; the company were thereby allowed, to introduce into the Spanish America, 144,000 negroes within the space of thirty years, to commence on March 1, 1713; being 4,800 yearly, and to pay a duty after the rate of 33⅓ pieces of eight for every slave. But his catholic majesty, on the company's advancing him a loan of 200,000 pieces of eight, to be repaid out of the duties of the last ten years, at 20,000 pieces of eight yearly, in consideration of the prompt payment of that sum, obliged the assientists to pay duty only for 4,000 negroes, those of 800 yearly being remitted. In this assiento treaty was comprized an additional article, whereby Spain granted to the English company, permission of sending every year, during the said thirty years, a ship of 500 ton with merchandize for the fairs of New Spain; on condition, that his catholic majesty should have a fourth of the profit of the ship, as well as the negro treaty, and 5*l.* per cent. for the other three parts belonging to England. CHAP. I. 1713.

In the year 1718, a rupture happening between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, Sir George Byng, the British admiral, destroyed the Spanish fleet in the streights of Messina; and the king of Spain seized all the effects of the south sea company, that were any where to be found in his dominions, amounting to about 225,000 *l.* sterling. However, in the year 1721, a treaty was concluded at Madrid between the two crowns, by which the Spanish ships and British effects were to be reciprocally restored, 1718. 1721.

PART I. ed, and commerce ſet on the footing of former treaties.

In 1720 the Spaniards from Cuba and the continent, having committed many acts of hoſtility on the Engliſh, Sir Nicholas Laws, then governor of Jamaica, and commodore Vernon, at that time commander in chief of all his Britannic majeſty's ſhips in the Weſt Indies, ſent letters to Trinadado in Cuba, demanding ſatisfaction from the alcades or commanding officers of that city; but were ſo far from procuring it, that the Spaniards made frivolous pretences of the Engliſh carrying on a prohibited trade to their ſettlements, and denied any reſtitution as required by the governor and commodore. This uſage ſo exaſperated the governor, that ſoon after one of the guarda coſtas being taken by the Launceſton man of war, with fifty-eight Spaniards on board, who had a little before taken off Hiſpaniola, a ſnow belonging to Jamaica; the governor, aſſiſted by his council and the commanders of the fleet, held a council of war to try the Spaniards for piracy, for which forty-three of them were convicted, condemned and executed.

1726. The Spaniards, pretending that the ſouth ſea company's annual ſhip practiſed an illegal commerce, by ſtationing cargoes in her way, and eluding the revenues due to his catholic majeſty, had detained the Royal George, being the company's aſſiento ſhip, at Porto Bello; and as the Spaniards were at that time meditating a combination with ſeveral European powers, for raiſing a new war, particularly againſt England; admiral Hoſier, in 1726, was diſpatched with a fleet to the Weſt Indies, to intercept the Spaniſh flota, or hinder them from conveying their treaſure

treaſure into Europe; which he accordingly effected, and in ſome meaſure prevented the pernicious conſequences, of ſuch a confederacy as the court of Spain was then endeavouring to cement, purſuant to the treaty of Vienna. The arrival of this commander was alſo to demand reparation of the Spaniards, for the frequent inſults and loſſes the Engliſh had ſuffered by them in their navigation and trade; for that end he ſailed to Porto Bello and demanded the Royal George, which was immediately delivered. CHAP. I.

WHAT has been thus enumerated, may ſerve to point out the long diſſentions between England and Spain, concerning the navigation and commerce in America; it is not material to enter into a more particular detail, of the many miſunderſtandings between both nations; let it ſuffice, that complaints were grown ſo numerous at the time of the treaty of Seville, October 29, 1729, that the commiſſaries who were thereby appointed to examine all grievances on both ſides, were allowed no leſs than three years to finiſh their commiſſion; and in ſix months after their report, the monarchs were reciprocally to execute what they ſhould have decided. 1729.

BY this treaty of Seville, the former treaties were renewed, and peace and perpetual union agreed on; the Engliſh never infringed this treaty, except ſuch private adventurers as thought fit to run the riſque of a contraband or prohibited trade along the Spaniſh coaſt, on whom alone, according to the treaty of 1670, the guarda coſtas ought to have executed their authority; but inſtead of this, they ſtill continued violence to the fair trader, and indiſcriminately exerciſed an unlimited privilege, taking many Britiſh veſſels,

PART I. fels, confiscating their cargoes, and using their crews with the utmost inhumanity.

1734. BUT in the year 1734, while Great Britain, to gratify the ambitious views of the Spanish queen, was principally concerned in establishing her son Don Carlos on the throne of Naples and Sicily, to the great prejudice of the house of Austria, the Spaniards then promised restitution for all their depredations, and sent orders to their American governors to do the British nation justice; nay, they even condemned and confiscated one of their guarda costas, towards making satisfaction to some merchants, whose ships they had ravaged. But no sooner had Don Carlos been peaceably invested in his regal dignity, than the Spaniards renewed their insults, and repeated their outrageous hostilities on the English, not only in America, but even plundering their ships in the Mediterranean; which rendered the British commerce so precarious, that their merchants could not sail in safety without the protection of a convoy. These proceedings were the more atrocious, as committed during the very time the commissaries, pursuant to the treaty of Seville, had assembled at Madrid, where receiving complaints from both parties, and with a profundity of deliberation sat expeditiously weighing them for more than seven years.

1738. THE British nation, tired with the slowness of the Spanish commissaries, and after many sollicitations and previous trials with the ministers of Spain, in order to accelerate their proceedings, and enforce their demands, sent a fleet into the Mediterranean under the command of admiral Haddock: this was the purpose of sending it; the Spaniards were alarmed, and offered to treat; the English ministers refused to enter into any

treaty,

treaty, till reparation for losses, and satisfaction for injuries were first granted by Spain; and influenced by the terror of a British fleet, the Spaniards agreed to it, and their commissaries proceeded to settle what had been referred to them. CHAP. I.

THE accounts of the English merchants, and their demands were carefully inspected and allowed by the Spanish commissaries, and the first computation of the demands of England on Spain, was 343,277 *l.* including those seizures which had been examined by the commissaries as well as those that had been since made; but Mr. Sterr, the English commissary, was of opinion, that such disallowances might be made on account of unjust and over-rated claims, as would reduce the gross sum to 200,000 *l.* as a reasonable satisfaction for the English sufferers. But as the English would not accept cedulas, offered for restitution, to be made in the West-Indies; or with assignments on the chamber of commerce at Seville, or on the register ship, or other ships, or with any less security, than actual payment in money in a short time at London, the English commissary made an abatement of 45,000 *l.* for the prompt payment, which reduced the English claim to 155,000 *l.*—By the treaty of Madrid in 1721, it is by the 5th article agreed, "That "his Britannic majesty should cause to be re- "stored to his Catholic majesty, all the ships "of the Spanish fleet taken by England, in "the naval battle fought in August, 1718, in "the seas of Sicily, with the guns, sails, rig- "ging and other equipage, in the condition they "were then in; or else the value of those which "may have been sold at the purchase price." And accordingly the restitution of these ships was

PART. I. tendered by the Engliſh, to the Spaniſh commiſſaries at Port-Mahon, where the ſhips then lay, who finding them greatly diſabled, and unfit for ſervice, refuſed to take them; and thereupon, by order of the governor of Minorca, the ſhips were drawn out of the harbour and ſunk in the main ſea; for which the Spaniards now inſiſting on an equivalent, brought in a claim of 180,000 *l.* and this being ſtipulated by the Engliſh commiſſary at 60,000 *l.* there was then but an inconſiderable conceſſion of 95,000*l.* from Spain, and the 60,000 *l.* to be paid by the Engliſh government for the Spaniſh ſhips, being only 155,000 *l.* to compenſate the great loſſes of the Engliſh merchants.

UPON this foundation the reciprocal ſatisfaction for paſt damages on both ſides were negociated.

1739. ACCORDINGLY on the 3d of January, 1739, a convention was haſtily ſigned at one of the palaces belonging to his Catholic majeſty called the pardo, by the miniſters of both crowns.

BY the firſt article of which, "The antient "friendſhip was to be reſtored, and two mini"ſters plenipotentiaries to meet at Madrid, in "ſix weeks, finally to regulate the reſpective "pretenſions of the two crowns according to "former treaties."

The ſecond article "Refers to the ſettling "the limits of Florida and Carolina to the ſame "miniſters, and in the mean time things to re"main there, in the ſame ſituation."

BY the third, "The king of Spain promiſes "to pay the agreed 95,000 *l.* but leaves the diſ"pute between the crown of Spain and the Eng"liſh ſouth ſea company, to be ſettled hereafter."

To

To this treaty were annexed two ſeparate articles; by the firſt of which "Plenipotentiaries "are appointed on both ſides, and the payment "of the 95,000 *l.* fixed to be made in London "in money within four months." CHAP. I.

THE ſecond "Relates only to the reſtoration "of two particular veſſels."

THIS treaty was accompanied with a declaration of the king of Spain, which his majeſty inſiſted on as a preliminary to his ſigning the convention; by which, "He reſerves a right of "ſuſpending the aſſiento of negroes, unleſs the "Engliſh ſouth ſea company, ſubjected itſelf to "pay in a ſhort time the ſum of 68,000 *l.* "ſtipulated to be due on the negroe duty."

THIS convention was laid before the Britiſh parliament the 8th of February following, who ordered it to be printed. Thus being produced before the public, it occaſioned a general concern, as they apprehended it too incompatible with the Britiſh honour and intereſt, and accordingly ſeveral petitions were preſented to both houſes of parliament by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, the Weſt India merchants of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, and other places; ſetting forth, the national prejudices reſulting from the convention, and praying the redreſs of parliament againſt a treaty ſo repugnant to the wiſhes and expectations of the generality of the kingdom.

THESE petitions were taken into conſideration by both houſes of parliament; and the lords after examining Mr. Drake, Mr. Bendiſh, Mr. Stert, late one of the Britiſh commiſſaries at Spain, and ſeveral other merchants, concerning the Engliſh loſſes; entered into a warm debate,

PART I. and through the miniſterial influence came to a reſolution, " That an humble addreſs ſhould be " preſented to his majeſty, to return him thanks " for his great care in obtaining the conven- " tion," which was accordingly preſented; and though it was a tacit approbation of that treaty, yet their lordſhips, among other things in their addreſs, " Declared their confidence and reli- " ance, on his majeſty's royal wiſdom and " ſteady attention to the honour of his crown, " and the welfare of his kingdoms; expecting " that in the treaty to be concluded in pur- " ſuance of the convention, proper provi- " ſions would be made, for the redreſs of the " grievances ſo juſtly complained of; and par- " ticularly that the freedom of navigation and " commerce in the American ſeas would be ſo " effectually ſecured, that they might injoy un- " moleſted, their undoubted right of navigat- " ing and carrying on trade and commerce, " from one part of his majeſty's dominions to " any other part thereof, without being liable " to be ſtopped, viſited, or ſearched, on the " open ſeas, or to any other violation or infrac- " tion of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two " crowns; the mutual obſervance thereof, and " a juſt regard to the privileges belonging to " each other, being the only means of main- " taining a good correſpondence and laſting " friendſhip between the two nations."

Don Geraldino, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at London, and agent for adjuſting the accompts between his Catholic majeſty and the Engliſh ſouth ſea company, after having practiſed many artifices to engage the company to comply with his extravagant demands, very ſuperciliouſly began to try the force of menaces; but in vain,

for

for on the 1ſt of March, the ſouth ſea company came to a reſolution, to pay no part of the 68,000 *l.* to the king of Spain, without his coming to a juſt account with them for all ſeizures, captures, and detentions of their ſhips, effects and merchandize, on the rupture in 1718, which amounted to 225,000*l.* ſterling, and the confiſcation in 1726, to the value of 112,000 *l.* which, by the treaty of 1727, his Catholic majeſty agreed to reſtore, though the company afterwards received but a very trivial compenſation. CHAP. I.

MR. Keen, the Britiſh envoy at Madrid, having ſtrongly ſollicited the payment of the 95,000*l.* ſtipulated by the late convention for an indemnification to the Britiſh merchants, received ſuch an equivocating and evaſive anſwer, as obviouſly demonſtrated, that the Spaniſh miniſtry paid but a very ſlender regard to the convention, intending only to linger out a fruitleſs negociation, and ſtill continue to retard thoſe compulſory meaſures, which they had ſo long expected the crown of Great Britain would have exerted, to vindicate its naval reputation, and procure by the force of arms, that ſatisfaction which was now found impoſſible to be obtained by the effect of treaty.

CHAPTER II.

From the proclamation of hoſtilities by the court of GREAT BRITAIN againſt the SPANIARDS, to the expedition againſt PORTO BELLO.

PART I. NOTWITHSTANDING war was the general cry throughout the Britiſh nation, Sir Robert Walpole, who preſided at the head of the miniſtry, ſtill perſiſted in thoſe pacific meaſures he had been always for maintaining. The national debt had received but an inconſiderable reduction ſince the treaty of Utrecht, and at this time, amounted to above forty five millions; a prodigious ſum! after ſo long a peace: and by carrying on a war with Spain, the nation muſt neceſſarily be loaded with additional taxes, as alſo by ſtopping a trade with that kingdom, it would be deprived of the moſt beneficial branch of its commerce, and be thereby the more impoveriſhed. This was the tenacious argument of the miniſtry to prevent a rupture with the crown of Spain, which was highly commendatory ſo far as it tended to their own ſecurity, as the pacific ſyſtem, however detrimental to trade, and injurious to the national honour, would afford the miniſtry leiſure, and opportunity for a diminution

tion of this forty five millions, ſuch a ſurprizing incumbrance on a nation, ſo long lulled in the boſom of tranquility. The miniſtry were very ſenſible, it was too cumberſome a load to ſit eaſy on the neck of the people; eſpecially as it might be well apprehended, that the free revenue, had, for near twenty years, been a great deal more than ſufficient for anſwering the annual expence, if the miniſtry had kept up no greater armies than were neceſſary, paid no unneceſſary penſions, nor fitted out any uſeleſs ſquadrons; and that upon this calculation, for admitting, what was aſſerted in the cloſe of the reign of queen Ann, that 350,000 *l.* a year was ſufficient for the ſupport of all the guards and garriſons requiſite at home, 120,000 *l.* ſufficient for the ordinary of the navy, 500,000 *l.* a year for the civil liſt, which was affirmed by a nobleman of great diſtinction to be ſufficient for that purpoſe, if exempted from the deductions of uſeleſs or dangerous penſions; and if to theſe three ſums, were added 520,000 *l.* a year, for maintaining 10,000 ſeamen, and 300,000 *l.* a year, for defraying the expence of the office of ordnance, and for ſupporting the garriſons at Gibraltar, Port-Mahon, and in the plantations, the whole neceſſary annual expence of the nation would amount to no more than 1,790,000 *l.* to which might be added 210,000 *l.* yearly for other contingent expences, to make up an even ſum of two millions, which would have been the annual expence of the nation if diſingaged from any foreign diſputes. Towards diſcharging of this, there would have been more that a ſufficiency from the free revenue, that is, the revenue unmortgaged for the payment of any old debt; for the land tax, at two ſhillings in the pound, is gene-

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rally computed at a million a year, and the malt tax, at 700,000 *l.* a year, but as there might be a deficiency in each of these annual grants, suppose they are both estimated but at 1,600,000 *l.* a year; and though the civil list revenue is generally computed at a million a year, if we reckon it but at 900,000 *l.* they will make in the whole, 2,500,000 *l.* free revenue yearly; so that upon this calculation for many years past, instead of encroaching upon the sinking fund, 500,000 *l.* might have been added to it yearly; and instead of encreasing the national debt, great part of it might have been paid off, without laying any new and heavier taxes upon the people. And against this the ministry could be no otherwise defended, than by alledging, that if armies had not been keept up, and augmented, or if squadrons had not been fitted out as often as occasion required, the nation would have been invaded, or some of its allies swallowed up, and the balance of power quite overturned; but that all such attempts, had been prevented by such measures, towards the supporting of which, as the free revenue was deficient, it had been necessary, almost every year, to apply some part, or the whole of the sinking fund, for the current services.

A STAGNATION of the Spanish trade, is one of the most insuperable disadvantages can be thrown upon the British nation, and above all things ought to be the most carefully avoided; for in this trade centers the most considerable part of the British commerce, by a valuable exportation of the woollen manufactures, in which the real wealth of the kingdom consists. But at the same time, by a suspension of this trade, the Spaniards could be equally afflicted, which is verified

verified by their national proverb, "Peace with "England and war with the whole world:" For it is generally ſuppoſed, that the Britiſh nation conſumes near two thirds of the exported produce of Spain; therefore the Spaniards are dependant for the greateſt part of their trade, upon a friendly intercourſe with England, which, for its woollen manufacture, tin, lead, corn and coals, receives in exchange from Spain, wine, wool, oil, ſoap, fruit, iron, indigo, cochineal and drugs. Though the profits of trade were ſo great in favour of the Engliſh, that on the balance, their gains were ſo extraordinary, it has been imagined the Engliſh and Dutch ſhared half the treaſure of the plate fleet, annually imported from America; yet the conſumption of Spaniſh commodities in Great Britain, though inequivalent, was very profitable, 10,000 ton of Spaniſh wines, beſides brandies being annually imported in the Britiſh dominions, which amount to the conſumers to near 1,000,000 *l.* ſterling. Beſides, England is the only market for the commodities of Spain, the French are too fruitful, the northern nations too poor, and the Dutch too frugal, to riot in ſuch a luxurious produce. Thus a war between Great Britain and Spain would be equally detrimental to the commerce of both nations, and ſuch a conjuncture muſt and always will contribute to the enriching of France, at the expence of the powers at variance; for during the laſt war, in four years time, there was landed at Breſt, ſix millions ſterling of Spaniſh bullion, which France drew from its trade with Spain in the Weſt Indies; and the great end Lewis XIV. aimed at, in ſetting a prince of the houſe of Bourbon on the Spaniſh throne, was to draw the riches of the

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the Indies into his own treasury: but though England ought vigilantly to secure her trade with Spain, free from the encroachments of France or any other rival in so beneficial a commerce; it is not less incumbent on Spain to avoid sinking into the arms of France, whose inhabitants are not more opposite in their manners and genius to those of the Spaniards than a French trade is repugnant to the true interest of the kingdom of Spain. But though the British nation was burthened with so weighty a debt, though they were convinced it would be unavoidably aggravated by a prevention of the Spanish trade, yet they universally exclaimed against the long forbearance of the ministry, in permitting the Spaniards, unchastised, to continue their depredations; and they impatiently waited for a declaration of hostilities, as they might publicly redress those injuries they had so long supinely sustained from the contumelious power and insolence of Spain.

1739. On the 10th of July, 1739, a proclamation was issued at London by order of the British council, alledging the Spanish depredations, the expiration of the term limited for the payment of the 95,000*l.* in London, and the non-payment thereof, thereby authorizing general reprizals and letters of marque against the ships, goods, and subjects of the king of Spain.

These orders, under the royal sign manual, dated the 15th of June, had been dispatched almost a month before their publication, to Commodore Brown, then commander of a British squadron at Jamaica, that he might have an opportunity of making the best use of them before the Spaniards could receive intelligence of, and be prepared against them, which were published

liſhed by the commodore on the 8th of Auguſt, but to little purpoſe, for the commodore very indiſcreetly ſailed with his whole ſquadron, and hovering round the Spaniſh coaſt alarmed the inhabitants, and rendered abortive the intention of the Britiſh govenment in that reſpect: whereas had he detached his ſquadron to cruize on different ſtations, he might have ſwept the whole ſeas, reduced the wealth of Spain, and gained to himſelf an immenſe booty. CHAP. II. 1739.

THE Britiſh miniſtry now evidently foreſaw the unavoidable neceſſity of a Spaniſh war, and the general ſenſe of the whole kingdom, pointed out to them, that the Weſt Indies was the moſt proper place for proſecuting it, ſo as to bring the differences with Spain to a ſpeedy as well as happy determination; for it was there the war could be puſhed with the moſt eaſe and greateſt advantage, as the Spaniſh ſettlements were then in a very defenceleſs condition, their fortifications impaired, their artillery neglected, their magazines unprovided, their garriſons diminiſhed, ſpiritleſs and diſaffected, and the royal fund of Peruvian treaſure almoſt exhauſted; nor were their ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies in a better ſituation: this gave the faireſt probability, that by a proper exertion of the Britiſh force in attacking the diſtant ſettlements of Spain, that the Spaniards would have been deprived of their principal reſources to carry on a war, and would have been ſincerely glad of embracing any moderate propoſals of peace: or ſuppoſing the Spaniards had perſiſted in their obſtinacy, to refuſe the ſalutary method of terminating differences by an amicable accommodation, if the Britiſh arms had made thoſe acquiſitions in the Spaniſh ſettlements they had then a favourable opportunity

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nity of doing, any conquests in that country of wealth, would have enabled the crown of Great Britain to have continued the war at the Spaniards expence, against them or any other power that should have dared to join them; nor were these advantageous prospects disregarded by the British ministry, they were too obvious to escape a national knowledge, and the ministry were obliged to coincide with such public and open sentiments. Accordingly several schemes were projected, and deliberated upon in council, when it was resolved, that two squadrons should be immediately equipped for two secret expeditions, which would have some connection with each other; the one to be commanded by George Anson, Esq; then captain of the Centurion, and Capt. Cornwall was intended for the command of the other: the squadron under Capt. Anson was to have taken on board a regiment of foot, and three independent companies under Col. Bland, was to set sail with the utmost expedition, and to touch at no place till they came to Java-Head in the East Indies, where they were only to water, and proceed to the city of Manila in Luconia, one of the Philippine islands in possession of the Spaniards. The squadron designed for Capt. Cornwall was to have been of equal force, and was intended to pass round Cape Horn into the South Seas, and after ranging along that part of the Spanish coast, and attempting their settlements, this squadron in its return was to rendezvous at Manila, and after joining Capt. Anson, the two squadrons were to have acted in conjunction, and receive further orders for other considerable enterprizes: and this scheme met with such general approbation, that in the beginning of September a vessel was dispatched

dispatched to Capt. Anson, then on a station cruize, to order his return with his ship to Portsmouth. CHAP. II.

THE more effectually to distress the Spaniards, another squadron was destined for the West Indies, and Edward Vernon, Esq; then lately created vice admiral of the blue, from the many eminent services he had formerly done his country in that remote part of the world, was universally looked upon as the most proper officer for so important a command. Though the bravery of this gallant commander, added to his thorough knowledge of the American seas, had been well manifested to the entire approbation of the whole kingdom; yet his fidelity, diligence and bravery had been hitherto unrewarded: but notwithstanding his rank in the navy had been long neglected, though he had withdrawn from any public station, and with great reason was disgusted at the ministry; no sooner was an application made to him to undertake the command of a squadron for the national service, but, with a behaviour equal to the antient patriots of Greece and Rome, he sacrificed all his private resentments to the public welfare, and obeyed the summons with alacrity; desiring only three or four days to settle his family affairs. Great was the expectation of the whole kingdom, from the conduct of so experienced and disinterested a gentleman, nor were they disappointed in their boldest wishes; for this brave commander, chearfully quitted the calm retirement of a rural life; and, like the Roman Cincinnatus, flew to establish the honour of his country; which he nobly atchieved to his own immortal reputation, the glory of his king, the perpetual fame of the naval power of Britain, and to the long and 1739.

shameful

PART I. 1739. shameful reduction of the pride of Spain. A squadron was accordingly equipped at Portsmouth; and on the 19th of July the admiral received instructions from his Britannic majesty, under his sign manual, appointing him commander in chief of all his ships in the West Indies; and the admiral soon after arrived at Portsmouth, and took under his command the following ships.

The squadron for the West Indies:

Ships Names	Commanders	Rate	Men	Guns
Burford	V. A. Vernon, Capt. Watson	3	500	70
Princess Louisa	Waterhous	4	400	60
Worcester	P. Mayne	4	400	60
Stafford	Trevor	4	400	60
Norwich	Herbert	4	300	50
		Total	2000	300

Designed to cruize in the Mediterranean.

Ships Names	Commanders	Rate	Men	Guns
Lenox	Capt. C. Mayne	3	480	70
Elizabeth	Falkingham	3	480	70
Kent	Durell	3	480	70
Pearl	Hon. E. Legge	5	240	40
		Total	1680	250

THE orders given to the admiral, were "To "distress and annoy the Spaniards in the most "effectual manner, by taking their ships and "possessing himself of such of their places and "settlements, as he should think it practicable "to attempt, and in conveying and protecting "the British subjects, in carrying on an open

"and

" and advantageous trade with the Spaniards in America." The ſquadron being completely fitted out, and ready for ſailing, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, the admiral delivered inſtructions to the ſeveral captains, whereby they were required and directed, " Upon coming up with any Spaniſh " ſhips or veſſels, either by ſignal for chaſing " from the admiral, or otherwiſe, to uſe their " utmoſt endeavours to take, ſink, burn, or " otherwiſe deſtroy them. And for the better " encouragement of the officers and ſeamen to " do their duty, the admiral ordered the captains to aſſure them, that his Britannic majeſty would have a regard to the rewarding " their ſervices in the diſtribution of the prizes " to be taken from the Spaniards; and that as " there might be ſpeedy occaſion, for the ſquadron entering upon ſervice, the captains were " ordered daily to exerciſe their men, both to " great guns and ſmall arms, ſo as to give them " all the experience they were able, for enabling them ſucceſsfully to put his majeſty's " orders in execution; and for that purpoſe they " were directed to give the ſtricteſt orders in " their reſpective watches, to be careful in making ſail in due time, to keep the whole ſquadron together, and not hazard the loſing " company, by their negligence." The next day the admiral, with the whole ſquadron, ſailed from Portſmouth, and being at ſea, on the 10th gave inſtructions to the ſeveral captains, " That " in caſe of loſing company by chaſing or any " other accident, they were to take notice, " that the place of general rendezvous was from " ten to fifteen leagues, N. N. W. from Cape " Finiſter."

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THE admiral having reaſon to think, that the Azogues ſhips which were expected in old Spain, from the Weſt Indies, might have received directions to put in at the Coruna; on the 15th diſpatched Capt. Covil Mayne in the Lenox, together with the Elizabeth and Kent, under his direction, "To cruize in ſuch ſtation of Cape "Finiſter, as with regard to the wind he ſhould "judge moſt proper, for intercepting the ſaid "Azogues ſhips in their return from the Weſt "Indies to the Coruna, or any other part of "Gallicia, that the captain might meet with any "certain intelligence of their being intended for; "and for that purpoſe to continue their cruiz- "ing for thirty days, after which in caſe they "ſhould or ſhould not meet with the Azogues "ſhips, they were to return to Spithead or "Plymouth, and to wait there for further or- "ders, from the lords of the admiralty;" but theſe ſhips made their arrival from the Havanna, at St. Andero, the day Admiral Vernon ſailed from Plymouth. The ſame day the admiral ordered Capt. Legge in the Pearl, "To proceed "and cruize between Liſbon and Oporto for the "ſpace of one month, for the protection of "the Britiſh trade on that coaſt; and then to "call in at Liſbon, where after a ſtay of ten days, "if neceſſary, he was to convoy ſuch trade as "were ready to ſail with him to the Downs."

THE ſquadron was now reduced only to the five ſhips deſigned for the Weſt Indies; and with theſe the admiral arrived at Madera on the 22d of Auguſt, where having taken in the neceſſary quantities of wine, and water, for the uſe of the ſquadron, and alſo a ſtore of wine for the hoſpital in Jamaica, on the 29th the admiral delivered further inſtructions to the ſeveral captains,

captains, "That in case of separation by very "bad weather, or any other unavoidable accident, they were to make the best of their way to English Harbour on the island of Antigua; and waiting there three days for the admiral, or further orders from him, and receiving none in that time, they were in their way, to look for him at Old Harbour in Monserrat, and at Back Stairs in the island of St. Christopher's; and neither meeting the admiral, nor orders from him there, they were to proceed directly to Port Royal in Jamaica, and wait there for his further orders." The same day the admiral dispatched a letter to Commodore Brown at Jamaica, directing him "To give out his orders immediately "for having all his majesty's ships at that island, "put in condition to proceed to sea with the admiral as soon as possible;" and the same night the squadron sailed from Madera. On the 2d of September the admiral detached the Norwich for Barbadoes to deliver a packet from the duke of Newcastle to the president of that island; with orders "To use his best diligence for procuring "the most experienced pilot he could meet "with there for the coast of Caraccas, and to "endeavour to inform himself as particularly "as he could, from the agent of the south sea "company there, or others that might have "frequented it, what were the usual times for "the ships loading there, what were their ports "they frequented, what fortifications they had "for the security of their respective ports; and "in general to get the best intelligence he could "of all particulars relating to the course of the "Spanish trade."

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On the 20th of Auguſt, his Catholic majeſty publiſhed a manifeſto vindicating his conduct in regard to the late convention; at the foot of which was annexed his majeſty's reaſons for not paying the 95,000 *l.* purſuant to the ſtipulation, therein particularly charging the crown of Great Britain with contravening moſt of the articles in the convention: and letters of marque and reprizals were alſo granted to the Spaniards againſt the crown and ſubjects of Great Britain.

On the 23d of September, Admiral Haddock took the St. Joſeph, a rich Spaniſh ſhip bound from the Caraccas, of 800 tons and 77 men; and on the 3d of October the ſame admiral took another rich Caracca ſhip of 280 tons; the value of the two prizes amounting to ſeveral thouſand pounds; and alſo took many other ſhips of leſſer value.

Now the Britiſh lyon rouzed from his apathy; the whole nation was fired with a ſpirit of reſentment, well becoming the noble ſentiments of a free, brave, generous and injured people; an univerſal abhorrence of the Spaniſh barbarity to their fellow ſubjects, filled the breaſt of every honeſt Engliſhman with indignation, and they loudly called for revenge.

His Britannic majeſty, reſolving to gratify the unanimous deſire of his ſubjects, on the 19th of October ſigned a declaration of war againſt Spain; which on the 23d was proclaimed, to the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, and amidſt the loudeſt acclamations of his ſubjects, in which no prince ever did an act of greater popularity.

On the 15th of November the parliament aſſembled, when his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with a moſt gracious ſpeech; importing, "That the preſent poſture

"of

" of affairs, had obliged him to call them to- CHAP.
" gether sooner than had been usual of late II.
" years, to have their immediate advice and
" assistance at that critical and important con- 1739.
" juncture. That he had in all his proceedings
" with the court of Spain, acted agreeably to
" the sense of both houses of parliament; and
" therefore made no doubt but he should meet
" with a ready and vigorous support in that just
" and necessary war, which the repeated inju-
" ries and violencies committed by that nation
" upon the navigation and commerce of his
" majesty's kingdoms, and their obstinacy and
" notorious violation of the most solemn en-
" gagements, had rendered unavoidable. That
" he had augmented his forces by sea and land,
" pursuant to the power given him by parlia-
" ment; which he had done with all the mo-
" deration that the security and defence of his
" dominions, the protection of trade, and the
" necessary means of distressing and annoying
" his enemies in the most sensible parts would
" admit: but as these services would be various
" and extensive, they must inevitably be at-
" tended with great expences and some incon-
" veniencies; which he assured himself, would
" be sustained with satisfaction and chearfulness,
" in pursuing such measures as the honour and
" interest of his crown and kingdoms, and the
" general resentment of an injured and pro-
" voked nation, had called upon him to under-
" take. And as in the prosecution of the war
" a number of soldiers to serve on board the
" fleet might be requisite, he had judged it
" proper that a body of marines should be rais-
" ed, and had directed the estimates for that
" purpose to be prepared and laid before the

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" houſe of commons. That the heats and animoſities which with the greateſt induſtry had " been fomented throughout the kingdom, had, " he was afraid, been one of the chief encouragements to the court of Spain to hold ſuch " a conduct as to make it neceſſary to have recourſe to arms; and the unhappy diviſions " amongſt his ſubject were the only hopes of " the enemies to his government: but whatever views and projects they might form upon " that rupture, and what advantages ſoever " Spain might vainly promiſe itſelf from any " circumſtances in the preſent ſituation of affairs; it was in the power of his parliament, " by the bleſſing of God, to defeat the one and " diſappoint the other. Union among all thoſe " who had nothing at heart but the true intereſt " of Great Britain, and a becoming zeal in the " defence of his kingdoms, and in the ſupport " of the common cauſe of their country, with " as general a concurrence in carrying on the " war, as there had appeared for engaging in " it, would make the court of Spain repent the " wrongs they had done them; and convince " thoſe who meant the ſubverſion of the preſent " eſtabliſhment, that the Britiſh nation was determined and able, both to vindicate their injured honour, and to defend themſelves againſt " all their open and ſecret enemies both at home " and abroad."

On the 16th the houſe of lords preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, repreſenting " The juſtice and neceſſity of the war againſt Spain; " devoting their lives and fortunes on that occaſion to the ſervice of their king and country; and giving his majeſty their ſtrongeſt aſſurance, zealouſly to concur in all ſuch mea-

" ſures

" ſures as might enable him to carry on the war with that ſpirit and vigour which truly become the Britiſh name. And that as the war was undertaken not to gratify the views of reſtleſs ambition, but to aſſert and maintain the honour and juſt right of his majeſty's crown and kingdoms, they doubted not but thoſe powerful motives would induce all his ſubjects to undergo with chearfulneſs whatever was neceſſary in the proſecuting of it: concluding, that they were detemined at the hazard of all that was dear to them, to ſupport their king againſt all his enemies, imploring the divine providence to give ſucceſs to his majeſty's arms, and make them the happy means of procuring a ſafe and honourable peace."

CHAP. II. 1739.

On the 17th the houſe of commons waited on his majeſty with an addreſs to the ſame purpoſe; to both which addreſſes his majeſty returned a moſt gracious anſwer.

On the 23d a great number of lords and commons waited on his majeſty with the joint reſolution of both houſes, whereby it was " Reſolved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty as a dutiful return to his gracious deſire of the advice of his parliament at that critical and important conjuncture; and as a farther teſtimony of their firm reſolution vigorouſly to ſupport his majeſty in the proſecution of the war againſt Spain, humbly to beſeech his majeſty never to admit of any treaty of peace with that crown, unleſs the acknowledgment of their natural and indubitable right to navigate in the American ſeas to and from any part of his majeſty's dominions, without being ſeized, ſearched, viſited or ſtopped, under any pretence whatſoever, ſhould

PART. I. " have been firſt obtained as a preliminary " thereto."

1739. THE war was entered upon with a great deal of vigour and alacrity; the national troops conſiſted of 17,704 effective men, but ſeveral regiments were recalled from Ireland, and the troops on the Britiſh eſtabliſhment were ordered to be augmented to 30,000 men, for which purpoſe 6,000 marines were to be raiſed with all expedition, which together with 12,000 men remaining on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, 6,000 Danes to be taken into the Britiſh ſervice if requiſite, and 30,000 Hanoverians, would have compleated an army in the ſpring of 80,000 men under his Britannic majeſty; the navy was then manned with 12,000 ſailors; and ſoon after conſiſted of 129 ſhips, 78 of which were of the line, and 34,562 ſeamen.

ON the 17th of November his Catholic majeſty publiſhed a declaration of war againſt Great Britain.

THUS was the ſword reciprocally drawn by both nations; by it was to be decided, whether the Spaniards ſhould continue the uſurpation of an unlimited power in the American ocean, or whether the ſubjects of Great Britain could not maintain their lawful right to a free navigation.

THE Spaniards diſappointed of their American treaſure through the prudent diſpoſition of the fleet under Admiral Haddock, were greatly impoveriſhed; and in December the Pope ſigned an indulto empowering his Catholic majeſty to raiſe two millions of crowns upon the whole clergy of Spain.

THOUGH the ſcheme to attack the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, and on the coaſt of the South Seas, had been ſo warmly recommended,

mended, and Capt. Anſon, on his return to London, on the 18th of November, ordered to take four men of war and a ſloop under his command, to proceed on that expedition; and though other orders were iſſued for victualling the ſquadron; yet in the beginning of January, the captain attending the lords of the admiralty, was informed by Sir Charles Wager, that the expedition to Manila was laid aſide; and for reaſons with which Sir Chales, though one of the lords of the admiralty, was unacquainted. However, Sir Charles gave him information, that the expedition to the South Seas was ſtill intended; and that the ſquadron under Capt. Anſon, as their firſt deſtination was countermanded, ſhould be employed in that ſervice. And on the 10th of January he received his commiſſion, appointing him commander in chief of that ſquadron; for which the commodore impatiently expected his inſtructions and ſailing orders, as he well knew the dangers attending the navigation of thoſe tempeſtuous ſeas, and the difficulties in doubling Cape Horn at an improper ſeaſon; but with which, notwithſtanding all his endeavours to avoid, he was obliged to encounter, by being retarded greatly beyond the proper time for ſailing on ſo remote and adventurous an undertaking. CHAP. II. 1739.

On the 16th of September Captain Knowles, in the Diamond man of war, took and carried into Jamaica, a ſhip with 74,000 pieces of eight, and cloathing for the garriſon of Auguſtine.

On the 28th of September Admiral Vernon arrived at Antigua, where the Angleſea Capt. Reddiſh, Loweſtoffe Capt. Drummond, and Saltaſh ſloop Cap. Swanton, were ſtationed for

PART I. 1739.

protecting the trade of the Leeward Iſlands, and as the admiral's principal view at that time was to intercept the galleons in their return, for which having reaſon to apprehend himſelf full weak, and though all his Britannic majeſty's ſhips in the Weſt Indies were under his direction, the admiral only ordered the Angleſea to compleat her proportion of proviſions for three months, and to ſail for Jamaica, leaving her ſtation to the Loweſtoffe and Saltaſh for the protection of the iſland trade. On the 2d of October the admiral arrived at St. Chriſtopher's, where he was joined by Capt. Herbert, who informed him, "That the Spaniſh trade on the Caracca "coaſt was limited between Laguira and Porto "Cavallo;" upon this intelligence the admiral ordered Capt. Waterhous in the Princeſs Louiſa, together with the Norwich and Strafford under his command "To make the beſt of his way "for the coaſt of Caraccas, taking particular "care to fall in with that coaſt to windward of "the port of Laguira; and if he ſhould per-"ceive any ſhips to be riding there, he was "before his coming near in, to make the ſignal "for the captains, and form his ſcheme for "attacking them, that every one might know "how he was to execute his part of it before "their coming into the road, were they were "to uſe their beſt endeavours to take, ſink, "burn and deſtroy all ſuch Spaniſh ſhips and "veſſels as they ſhould find there; and they "were further ordered to range that coaſt as "far as Porto Cavallo afterwards, and endea-"vour to do the ſame with all Spaniſh ſhips and "veſſels that they ſhould meet with, and then "to make the beſt of their way for Port Royal "in Jamaica." But Capt. Waterhous was far from

from ſucceeding to the admiral's expectations; for though he diſcovered ſeventeen ſail of ſhips in the port of Laguira, they were ſo well defended by three regular forts, that after receiving conſiderable damage to the ſhips, he was obliged to retire and rejoin the admiral without effecting any thing ſignally detrimental to the Spaniards. On the 15th of October the admiral in the Burford with the Worceſter arrived at Port Royal in Jamaica, where he was joined by Commodore Brown in the Hampton-Court and the ſquadron under his command, ſo that on this augmentation the fleet conſiſted of the following ſhips; CHAP. II. 1713.

Burford	Ad. Vernon
Hampton-Court	Com. Brown Capt. Dent
Princeſs Louiſa	Waterhous
Worceſter	Mayne
Strafford	Trevor
Norwich	Herbert
Sheerneſs	Stapylton
Windſor	Berkley
Falmouth	Douglaſs
Blandford	Burriſh
Torrington	Knight
Diamond	Knowles
Drake Sloop	Maſter
Fraternity Tender	Trenwith

The admiral immediately detached ſeveral of the beſt cruizers on different ſtations for the protection of the iſland trade, and diſpatched the Worceſter to cruize off Cape Tiberon, and the Blandford to cruize to windward as high up as Cape Alta Vela, both on the coaſt of St. Domingo, to ſecure the arrival of ſeveral ſhips expected

PART I. pected from Great Britain and Ireland, laden with naval ſtores for the uſe of the ſquadron.

1739. THE factors of the South Sea company, on the declaration of war, were detained as priſoners by the governor of Carthagena, and the admiral intending to attack ſome of the Spaniſh ſettlements, and wanting to procure the neceſſary and beſt intelligence to promote the ſucceſs of his deſigns, apprehended if he could get the releaſement of the company's factors he might obtain information of the ſtrength of the Spaniards in thoſe parts, the preſent condition of their fortifications, what motions their ſhips were likely to be making, the courſe of their trade, and in general, every thing the factors could think of to aſſiſt the admiral in diſtreſſing the Spaniards in their opulent provinces. For this purpoſe the admiral on the 18th of Oct. diſpatched his firſt lieutenant Mr. Percival in the Fraternity tender for Carthagena with two Spaniſh gentlemen on board, with orders "To land Don "John Almanders before the town and port "Canoa, and to deliver to him two letters from "the admiral, the one for Don Pedro Fidalgo "governor of Carthagena, and the other for "Don Blaſs de Leſo general of the galleons; but "for the other Spaniſh gentleman, Don Pedro "Elliſtagaritta, the lieutenant was not on any "conſideration to part with him, unleſs the con-"dition in the letters were complied with; which "was, by the South Sea company's factors being "ſent on board the Fraternity to return with "the lieutenant, in which caſe he was to put "him on ſhore; but in failure of that, or ſend-"ing the lieutenant no anſwer within twenty "four hours, he was then, after having ranged "near enough on the back of the town to diſ-"cover what ſhips there was in the harbour, to

"return

" return immediately to Port Royal." But the Spaniſh governor refuſed to releaſe the Engliſh factors. CHAP. II.

THE admiral with the greateſt vigilence and conduct commenced hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards by taking many of their ſhips; but having no land forces, nor a diſcretionary power to raiſe them in the American colonies, he was retarded from undertaking any memorable expedition till he was furniſhed by his excellency Edward Trelawny, Eſq; governor of Jamaica, with 200 ſoldiers. On receiving this weak but neceſſary reinforcement, the admiral made the neceſſary preparations for putting to ſea on an expedition againſt the Spaniards. His principal view was to ſail for and directly enter the harbour of Porto Bello, and endeavour to deſtroy all the fortifications, ſo as to leave it an open defenceleſs bay, in order to prevent the Spaniards holding their fair at all, or laying them open to future attacks if they ſhould attempt it. Admiral Vernon, thoroughly ſenſible what advantages the Spaniards would reap by his delaying to attack them, was ſo intent on his deſign, that he was obliged to go to ſea much weaker than he thought neceſſary for the ſervice intended, by ſo many of his cruizing ſhips being kept out of the reach of his orders ſo long. He therefore communicated his deſign to the ſeveral captains, and on the 3d of November ordered Commodore Brown to wear his diſtinguiſhing pendant on board the Hampton-Court, and to be ready to proceed to ſea with the other captains on the 5th in the morning: the whole ſquadron employed in this expedition conſiſted of only ſix ſhips of the line, in the following diſpoſition. 1739.

Line

LINE OF BATTLE.

1739. THE Hampton-Court to lead with the ſtarboard, and the Princeſs Louiſa with the larboard tacks aboard, and the commodore to repeat ſignals.

Frigate	Rate	Ships	Commanders	Men	Guns
	3	Hampton C.	Com. Brown, Capt. Dent	495	70
	4	Norwich	R. Herbert	300	50
		Worceſter	Perry Mayne	400	60
Sheerneſs	3	Burford	V. A. Vernon, Capt. T. Watſon	500	70
	4	Strafford	T. Trevor	400	60
		Princeſs Louiſa	T. Waterhous	400	60

THERE were 2,495 ſailors on board, with 200 land forces under Capt. Newton: on the 5th the admiral ſailed out of Port Royal harbour with the ſquadron, and proceeded towards Porto Bello, having left orders for the Diamond, Windſor and Angleſea to compleat their proviſions to ten weeks and follow him to Porto Bello, off of which place, in caſe of ſeparation, the admiral had appointed the general rendezvous.

THE ſquadron being at ſea, on the 7th the admiral delivered his orders to the commodore and captains, appointing the following diſpoſitions for the attack; "That upon making the land of "Porto Bello, and having a wind to favour them "and day-light for the attempt, to have their "ſhips clear in all reſpects for immediate ſervice, "and on the proper ſignal to form themſelves "into the line of battle above directed, and be-"ing formed to follow in the ſame order of bat-"tle to the attack in the manner hereafter di-"rected.

" rected. And as the north ſhore of the har- CHAP.
" bour of Porto Bello was repreſented to the II.
" admiral to be a bold ſteep ſhore, on which at
" the firſt entrance ſtood the caſtle de Ferro, or 1739.
" Iron Caſtle; Commodore Brown and the ſhips
" that followed were directed to paſs the ſaid fort
" within leſs than a cable's length, for giving the
" Spaniards the warmer fire both from the muſ-
" ketry as well as their cannon, and then Com-
" modore Brown was to ſteer away for the Gloria
" Caſtle, and anchor as near as he could to the
" eaſtermoſt part of it for battering down all the
" defence of it, ſo as to leave room for Capt.
" Mayne in the Worceſter to anchor aſtern of
" him againſt the weſtermoſt baſtion of it to do
" the ſame there, who was to follow ſuch further
" orders as the commodore ſhould give him for
" attacking the ſaid caſtle: and Capt. Herbert
" in the Norwich, after giving his fire to the
" Iron Caſtle as he paſſed it, was to make di-
" rectly up to the caſtle St. Jeronimo lying to
" the eaſtward of the town, and anchoring as
" near as he could to it, to batter it down; and
" Capt. Trevor in the Strafford following the ad-
" miral was to come to an anchor againſt the
" eaſtermoſt part of Caſtle de Ferro, and far
" enough to the eaſtward to leave room for
" Capt. Waterhous in the Princeſs Louiſa to an-
" chor aſtern of him for battering the weſter-
" moſt part, being to continue on that ſervice to
" make themſelves maſters of it, and the young-
" eſt officers to follow the farther orders of the
" elder in the further proſecution of the attack;
" and if the weather was favourable for it, on
" their going in each ſhip was directed, beſides
" having his long-boat towing aſtern, to have
" his barge alongſide to tow the long-boats away

" with

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" with ſuch part of the ſoldiers as could conveniently go in them directly on board the admiral, for his directing a deſcent with them where he ſhould find it would moſt favour the ſeveral attacks." And the admiral repreſented to the ſeveral captains " That from the men's inexperience in ſervice, it was neceſſary to take more precaution to prevent hurry and confuſion, and a fruitleſs waſte of their powder and ſhot; directing them all to give the ſtricteſt orders, to the reſpective officers that were to command the ſeveral batteries, to take care that no gun was fired but what they, or thoſe they particularly appointed, ſaw firſt levelled and directed the firing off; and that they ſhould ſtrictly prohibit all their men from hallowing and making ſuch like irregular noiſe, that would only ſerve to throw themſelves into confuſion, till ſuch time as the ſervice was fully performed and they had nothing left to do but to glory in their victory, which ſuch confuſion might often prevent and otherwiſe prove fatal to them. And thoſe that had the coehorn mortars on board, were directed to make uſe of them againſt the reſpective forts they were appointed to batter and deſtroy."

ABOUT the ſame time the admial ordered Capt. Stapylton in the Sheerneſs for Carthagena, " To look in on the back of the town and ſee whether the galleons were ſtill in that harbour, and to carefully obſerve their motions; and if he found them already at, or in a diſpoſition for coming to ſea, or that any men of war were to come to join them, then to make the beſt of his way for Porto Bello to give the earlieſt advice of it he could, to prevent the admiral's being ſurprized."

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

The reduction of PORTO BELLO and CHAGRE, and MOSQUITO expedition againſt the SPANIARDS.

THE town of Porto Bello is ſituated on the north ſide of the famous iſthmus of Darien, which running in a manner from eaſt to weſt beteen the north and ſouth ſeas, joins the two vaſt continents of north and ſouth America. It is about eighteen leagues from Panama, which lies on the ſouth ſide of the iſthmus; it has a commodious bay about a mile deep, affording good anchorage and ſhelter for ſhips, and near half a mile broad at the mouth of the harbour. At the entrance of the north ſide of the bay on the ſide of a ſteep rock ſtood a ſtrong caſtle called the Iron Caſtle, mounting 78 great guns, with a battery beneath parallel with the water, which mounted 22 guns; the caſtle and fort garriſoned by 300 men. On the oppoſite ſide the bay, but near a mile farther up on an aſcent, ſtood Caſtle Gloria, conſiſting of two regular baſtions to the ſea, mounting 90 guns, with a curtain between them mounting 22 guns, beſides a line of eight guns that pointed to the mouth of the harbour, the whole defended by 400 men: a little above this

1739.

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this caſtle, near the other end of the town, on a point that ran into the bay, ſtood fort St. Jeronimo, being a kind of quadrangular redoubt, ſtrongly built, well planted with cannon, and properly defended. Under the cannon of Gloria Caſtle and Fort St Jeronimo all the ſhips belonging to the harbour rode at anchor; and this defence, together with the guns on the Iron Caſte, rendered the entrance of the harbour very difficult and extremely dangerous.

AT the bottom of the harbour lies the town, bending along the ſhore like a half moon: it is long and narrow, having two principal ſtreets beſides thoſe that go acroſs, with a ſmall parade about the midde of it, ſurrounded with pretty fair houſes. It conſiſts of about 500 houſes, two churches, a treaſury, a cuſtom-houſe and an exchange. The eaſt ſide is low and ſwampy, and the ſea at low water leaves the ſhore within the harbour bare a great way from the houſes, which having blackiſh filthy mud ſtinks very much, and breeds noiſome vapours through the heat of the climate, it lying in the 10th degree of north latitude; for this reaſon it is but thinly peopled, except at the time of the fair, which alone gives reputation to the place, as being the market through which all the wealth of Peru, and the manufactures of Europe annually circulate.

THIS place was taken by the Buccaneers in 1688, but was ſoon refortified in a much ſtronger manner, had been long eſteemed impregnable, and was formerly told could not be taken by a large ſquadron and at leaſt 8,000 men, when the Britiſh ſhips and ſailors lay rotting at the Baſtimentos; though Admiral Vernon had aſſerted, in an auguſt aſſembly, that he would take it with only ſix ſhips of war, and to the great reputation of the

the Britiſh arms, he now convinced the world of the truth of ſo bold an affirmance by the reduction of Porto Bello with only that very force he had mentioned; which he executed in the following manner. CHAP. III. 1739.

ON the 20th of November, in the evening, the ſquadron came in ſight of Porto Bello, having been delayed in their paſſage by contrary winds. There being but little wind that evening, though a very great ſwell, the admiral anchored for that night ſix leagues off the ſhore, being apprehenſive of driving to the eaſtward of the harbour.

ON the 21ſt in the morning the admiral plyed to windward in line of battle, but the wind proving eaſterly, he was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron Fort only, cloſe to which the ſquadron was piloted by Capt. Renton.

COMMODORE Brown in the Hampton-Court, who led the attack, executed his part as became an officer of experience and reſolution, having fired above 400 ſhot in about 25 minutes; and being well followed by Capt. Herbert in the Norwich, and Capt. Mayne in the Worceſter, the admiral perceived that ſome of the Spaniards fled from ſeveral parts of the fort; upon which he made the ſignal for the boats, in which were about 40 ſailors, a company of marines and their officers, to make the beſt of their way in order to their landing, whilſt he was coming up to the fort to batter it. The admiral luffing up as near to the fort as he could, was welcomed with a volley, which took place with almoſt every ſhot: one ſtruck away the ſtern of his barge, another broke a large gun on his upper deck, a third went through the fore-top maſt, and a fourth, paſſing through the awnings within two inches of the main maſt, beat down the barricado of the

PART. I. 1739. quarter deck very near the admiral, killed three men, and wounded five others, and the Spaniards vainly imagined they could ſink the whole ſquadron; but this was ſo far from diſcouraging the Britiſh ſeamen, that they returned the ſalute in ſuch a manner, that though the Spaniards fired a few ſhot amongſt them they did the Engliſh no material damage afterwards, for the fire of the admiral's ſmall arms commanded the Spaniards lower batteries and had a good effect in driving them from thence, where they could do moſt harm, and by this means the men were alſo ſecured at landing, which, as the Spaniards afterwards confeſſed, was the principal occaſion of their deſerting their lower batteries, the ſmall ſhot from the former ſhips not having reached them, though their cannon had beat down ſome of the upper part of the fort. As the boats came near the admiral's ſhip, he called to them to go directly on ſhore under the walls of the fort in the front of their lower batteries, though there was no breach made. but this anſwered as was expected, they all landed ſafe except two ſoldiers who were killed by ſmall arms from the caſtle. In ſcaling the fort walls, one man ſet himſelf cloſe under an embraſure whilſt another climbed upon his ſhoulders and entered under the mouth of a great gun. This threw the Spaniards into ſo general a conſternation, that the officers and men who had ſtood to the lower battery, threw down their arms and fled to the upper part of the fort, where they held up a white flag as a ſignal of capitulating. The admiral anſwered with a white flag; but it was ſome time before he could ſtop his own men, and thoſe on board the Strafford Capt. Trevor which followed him, from firing.

In the mean time the ſeamen had climbed up the walls of the lower battery and ſtruck the colours, and then drew the ſoldiers up after them, to whom the Spaniards, who had retreated to the upper part of the fort, ſoon ſurrendered at diſcretion. Their number was only five officers and 35 men out of above 300, the reſt being either killed or wounded, or having made their eſcape: they firſt ſhut themſelves up in a ſtrong lodgment, but upon the Engliſh firing a gun through the door, they ſoon opened it, and begged for quarters. CHAP. III. 1739.

The ſhips that went in before the admiral were fallen to leward, ſo as to be out of ſight of the Gloria Caſtle; but the admiral's ſhip lying open to this caſtle, they kept firing one of their largeſt guns at him till night, but not being within point blank, their ſhot either fell ſhort or went over him, only one ſhot went through the head of his fore-top maſt juſt above the rigging; ſo that it did no other harm.

The admiral finding the Spaniards continued their firing tryed ſome of his lower tier at them, which being new guns anſwered beyond expectation, carrying over the Gloria Caſtle into the town, none of the ſhot falling ſhort, and one of them going through the governor's houſe, ſome through other houſes in the town, and one ſunk a ſloop under the Gloria Caſtle.

This ſucceſsful beginning was attended with a very inconſiderable loſs, there being only three men killed and five wounded on board the admiral's ſhip; the like number were killed and wounded on board the Worceſter, and one man had both his legs ſhot off on board the Hampton-Court; the other ſhips had none killed or wounded, and only two ſoldiers were ſhot going

PART I. aſhore, one of which died ſoon after of his wounds.

1739. THE next morning being the 22d, the admiral went on board Commodore Brown to call the captains to conſult together, and give out the neceſſary orders for warping the ſhips up the next night in order to attack the Gloria Caſtle the night following, as it would not have been practicable to attempt it in the day time: but in this he was prevented by the enemy's putting up a white flag at the Gloria Caſtle, and ſending a boat with a flag of truce to the admiral, with the governor's adjutant and a lieutenant of a man of war, who brought the conditions ſigned on which they deſired to capitulate; which were, "That "the government would deliver up all the for- "tifications, provided they might be allowed to "march out with the honours of war, have an "indemnity for themſelves, the town and the "inhabitants, and be permitted to enjoy all the "ſhips in the harbour." This laſt could by no means be accepted, for the admiral reſolved to have all the ſhips, being the very ſhips that had done the Engliſh merchants the injuries complained of on theſe coaſts. Accordingly the admiral immediately drew up the forms on which he would admit them to capitulation, and diſpatched them back again, allowing them only a few hours to take their reſolution: but within the time limited they accepted the conditions offered them: on which "ARTICLES OF CAPITULA- "TION granted by Vice Admiral Vernon and "Commodore Brown, to Don Franciſco Mar- "tines de Retez governor of Porto Bello, and "Don Franciſco de Abarea commandant of the "Guarda Coſtas at the ſame place," were prepared and executed the ſame day as follows.

By

By the first. " The garrison were allowed to CHAP. " march out as desired, upon condition the king III. " of Great Britain's troops were put into posses- " sion of Gloria Castle before four of the clock 1739. " that evening, and the garrison to march out " by ten the next morning.

" THE inhabitants might either remove or " remain, under a promise of security for them- " selves and their effects.

2d. " THAT the Spanish soldiers might have " a guard if they thought it necessary.

3d. " THAT they might carry off two can- " non mounted, with ten charges of powder for " each, and their match lighted.

4th. " THAT the gates of Gloria Castle should " absolutely be in possession of the British troops " by four of the clock; and the Spanish garrison " should remain in all safety for their persons and " effects, till the appointed time for their march- " ing out, and to carry with them the provisions " and ammunition necessary for their safety.

5th. " THAT the ships with their apparel " and arms, should be absolutely delivered up " to the use of his Britannic majesty; but that " all the officers, both soldiers and crew, should " have three days allowed them to retire with " their personal effects; only one officer being " admitted on board each ship and vessel, to " take possession for his Britannic majesty, and " see the articles strictly complyed with.

6th. " THAT provided the articles were " strictly complyed with, and that possession " was given of the castle of St. Jeronimo, in the " same manner as stipulated for the Castle Glo- " ria; then the clergy, the churches, and town " should be protected, and preserved in all their " immunities and properties.

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"AND that all prisoners already taken, "should be set at liberty before their leaving "the port."

BEFORE night the admiral sent Capt. Newton, who commanded the detachment of soldiers from Jamaica, with about 120 of the soldiers, who took possession of Gloria Castle and St. Jeronimo fort; being the remaining fortresses that guarded the harbour; the Gloria Castle lying just below the town, and St. Jeronimo just above it.

THERE were in the harbour two Spanish men of war of 20 guns each, and a snow; the crews of which, seeing the regular and bold attack which was made on the Iron Fort, and despairing of being able to defend themselves, fell to plundering the town in the night of the 21st, and committed great outrages on the inhabitants.

THE admiral took on board his ships from the several fortresses forty pieces of brass cannon, ten brass field pieces, four brass mortars, and eighteen brass patteraroes; and rendered unserviceable above eighty iron cannon, by knocking off their trunnions and spiking them up: he also took on board all their shot and ammunition, except 122 barrels of powder, which he expended in springing mines, by which all the fortifications of the town were blown up and entirely demolished, and the harbour left open and defenceless.

TEN thousand dollars that were arrived and designed for paying the Spanish troops at Porto Bello, falling into the admiral's hands, he distributed them among the forces for their encouragement.

ON the 23d the admiral ordered all the captains "Not to send any of the boats ashore, with-"out an officer for whose conduct they would "be

" be reſponſible; and as ſecurity from plunder- CHAP.
" ing perſons and effects was granted by the III.
" capitulation, they were ſtrictly to prohibit it's
" being put in practice in any ſort; and to aſſure 1739.
" whoever attempted it, they ſhould not only be
" puniſhed for the infraction of the capitulation,
" but be deprived of their ſhare of the ſeveral
" captures that were ſecured for a reward of
" their gallant diſcharge of their duty." And for intercepting any thing that might be coming into or going out of the harbour without permiſſion, the admiral gave orders " For a lieu-
" tenant with a barge well manned and armed
" to be on duty on board the weſtermoſt ſhip
" every night, to keep guard there the whole
" night, rowing every now and then croſs the
" harbour; and alſo a ſufficient guard to be
" nightly mounted every watch to prevent ſur-
" prizes." The admiral, tender of the national honour of his country, and knowing how neceſſary it was for a lenient and mild uſe of his conqueſt, to cultivate a good opinion among the Spaniards of the Britiſh faith and integrity, thereby to promote the private trade on the coaſt, and to eradicate thoſe abominable notions of Engliſh heretics, villains and cruel ſpoilers, inſtilled among the inhabitants by the craft and ſubtilty of the jeſuits; for this purpoſe he diſperſed the ſtricteſt orders among the ſquadron, " Punctually and religiouſly, inviolably to pre-
" ſerve to the Spaniards, the conditions of their
" capitulation, and the other humane conceſſions
" granted to them ſince, as agreeable to the
" inclinations of his royal maſter and the nature
" of an Engliſhman."

THE admiral was joined at Porto Bello on the 27th by the Diamond Capt. Knowles; and

PART I. on the 29th by the Windsor Capt. Berkley, and the Anglesea Capt. Reddish.

1739. THE principal engineer in the mining work was Capt. Knowles of the Diamond, assisted by Capt. Boscawen; (who desired he might serve in this expedition as a volunteer, his ship the Shoreham not being fit for the sea,) and by Mr. Barnes, Purser of the Worcester, who having been an officer in the army was very useful on this occasion. Commodore Brown had the chief direction of what was necessary to be done at Gloria Castle and St. Jeronimo Fort; and Capt. Watson, captain of the admiral's ship took care of the execution of all that was to be done at the Iron Fort, where the walls of the lower battery which consisted of twenty-two guns, were nine feet thick, and of a hard stone, cemented with such a fine mortar, that it was a long work to make any impression in it to come to mine at all.

ON the 6th of December Capt. Stapylton returned from his cruize off Carthagena, having taken two vessels going to that place with stores and provisions.

DURING the admiral's stay at Porto Bello, he sent a letter to the president of Panama, demanding the releasement of the factors and servants of the South Sea company who were confined at that place; in consequence of which, the president of Panama sent an officer with Mr. Humphrys and Dr. Wright factors, and also with the servants of the South Sea company, who were delivered to the admiral at Porto Bello.

THUS fell the walls of Porto Bello; and though the admiral was incapable of pushing his conquest further up the country, yet the national

onal benefit was very great, as the traders of Jamaica had now a fair opportunity to open an extenſive commerce with the Spaniards, who were fond of creeping their money over from Panama. Mankind are at a loſs to determine whether the conduct, the courage, or humanity of the admiral is moſt to be admired, all which he ſo peculiarly exerted, that it greatly added to the glory of his enterprize. Nor was his behaviour in his private ſtation, as a kind and compaſſionate friend, leſs to be admired, which was exemplarily inſtanced to Commodore Brown; this commander had rendered himſelf highly culpable by an improper uſe of his Britannic majeſty's orders for making reprizals on the Spaniards; but the admiral on his arrival at Jamaica, notwithſtanding the late imprudence of the commodore, ſtill retained a good opinion of his abilities as a faithful and experienced naval officer: incited therefore by a deſire to reinſtate him in his former reputation, and influenced through that natural generoſity ever inſeparable from the brave and honeſt man, and by a regardful indulgence to an ancient friend, the admiral permitted him to continue his rank in the ſquadron, beſtowed on him the ſecond place in command in the expedition againſt Porto Bello, and after giving him an opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing his character by his ſervices there; the more effectually to corroborate him in the public eſteem, the admiral alſo permitted him to ſign the articles of capitulation, which he was no otherwiſe privileged to do than by the indulgence of the admiral. CHAP. III. 1739.

THE principal point next in view was to diſtreſs the galleons even in Carthagena, by preventing their being ſupplied with any naval ſtores and proviſions, of which they ſtood in great neceſſity.

The

PART I. The admiral therefore on the 11th of December, ordered Capt. Knowles in the Diamond "To "accompany the ſquadron till their arrival as far 1739. "to windward as Carthagena, and to cruize "there for intercepting any ſupplies, and ob- "ſerving the galleons." On the 13th the vice admiral with his ſquadron ſailed from Porto Bello on his return for Jamaica; and having reaſon to apprehend, from the intelligence brought by Capt. Reddiſh, that the Ferrol ſquadron might be in thoſe ſeas; on the 15th the admiral gave orders to all the captains, "Not on any "conſideration to hazard loſing company with "the flag; and that in caſe of ſeparation, the "firſt place of general rendezvous for twenty- "four hours would be under Point a Canoe; but "not ſeeing any thing of the admiral in that "time, they were to make the beſt of their way "for the next general place of rendezvous at "Port Royal." Being off Carthagena, on the 28th the admiral ſent Capt. Renton in the Spaniſh ſnow called the Triumph, for England, with the agreeable news of his ſucceſs at Porto Bello; the ſquadron was afterwards diſperſed by hard gales of wind, but after ſuffering in their maſts and rigging, they at laſt all joined the admiral at Port Royal.

1740. HAD Admiral Vernon made no further progreſs in ſupporting the honour of the Britiſh arms no one could blame him, but thoſe perſons only were culpable who ought to have ſent ſome land forces with him, nay did not give him ſo much as any command over the few troops that were diſperſed in ſeveral parts of the Weſt Indies. Whatever difficulties were thrown in his way to retard the ſucceſs of his victorious ſquadron, the admiral with a magnanimous reſolution endeavoured

voured to surmount them all; for on his return to Jamaica, the principal care of the admiral was to equip his fleet with the utmost expedition for another enterprize. Having made the necessary preparations for putting to sea with the ships fit for service, and leaving the Hampton-Court, Worcester, Diamond, and Torrington at Jamaica, under the command of Commodore Brown, for the security of the island and shipping, with the necessary orders in case of their coming to be attacked by any superior force of the enemy, in what manner to defend them; and also orders to refit the Burford, and send her to join his squadron as soon as possible; on the 25th of February the admiral, having a design to bombard Carthagena and afterwards to disturb the Spaniards in Fort Chagre, a little to the S. W. of Porto Bello, sailed from Port Royal in the Strafford, with the Princess Louisa, Windsor, Norwich, Falmouth, and Greenwich men of war; Success, Cumberland, Eleanor, Alderney, Terrible, Brig, Pompey, Goadly frigates, fire-ships, bombs, and tenders: having a favourable wind on the 1st of March, he got sight of the high land of St. Martha on the Spanish main, and ordered Capt. Windham in the Greenwich "To ply up in the night, and lie to windward "of the port, for intercepting any thing that "might be coming in there the next day." The admiral then bore away with an easy sail for Carthagena. On the 3d in the evening, he anchored with the squadron before the town in nine fathom water, in the open bay called Playa Grande; and on the 6th he ordered in all the bomb ketches, and the small ships and tenders for covering and assisting them, and continued bombarding till nine in the morning. The squadron received no damage from the town, but the

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shells

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ſhells fell there pretty ſucceſsfully, particularly into the principal church, the jeſuits college, the cuſtom-houſe, beat down ſeveral houſes between them, and a ſhell that fell into the ſouth baſtion ſilenced a battery of ten guns there for a long time. The inhabitants were in the utmoſt conſternation; but the ſquadron was too inconſiderable to attempt giving them any further annoyance: the admiral therefore on the 4th gave orders to the ſeveral captains, "That in caſe of "ſeparation after leaving their preſent ſtation off "Carthagena, they were to make the beſt of "their way to the next general place of ren-"dezvous, either in the harbour of Porto Bel-"lo, or off the mouth of the river Chagre, "in the bay to the eaſtward of it; and on the 9th drew off his bomb-ketches and ſmall craft, weighing with his ſquadron on the 10th in the morning. After making the ſignal for the line of battle, he coaſted the ſhore towards Boca Chica, and at this time made proper obſervations to regulate any future deſcent intended againſt Carthagena; while the Spaniards fired at him from the three ſmall caſtles without Boca Chica, but none of their ſhot reached him. Having received intelligence that Don Joſeph de Herrera in the Vizara, a Spaniſh man of war, had received orders from Don Blaſs to come and join him at Carthagena, together with the St. Juan another Spaniſh man of war, and a ſnow; the admiral on the 9th ordered Capt. Berkley in the Windſor, with the Greenwich Capt. Wyndham, "To cruize off the port of Carthagena for "twenty days, to intercept, take or deſtroy the "ſaid men of war, but principally to watch the "motions of the galleons." The admiral made ſail for Porto Bello, to repair there the damage received

received by the ſmall craft. On the 13th, being joined by Capt. Knowles in the Diamond, the admiral ordered him "To go on board the "Succeſs fireſhip, and accompanied with the "Brig tender to get off the mouth of the "Chagre, and there uſe the beſt of his judg- "ment in getting all proper information, how "the fort at the mouth of that river could be "attacked, either by bombardment or canno- "nading; and particularly to inform himſelf "of the ſoundings and depth of water there- "abouts, to be certain how near any of the "ſhips could approach; and to obſerve what "convenient landing places might be near; and "return to the admiral as ſoon as conveniently "he could, who would be making an eaſy ſail "after him to lie off the ſaid river, till he "ſhould receive his information to form the fu- "ture plan of operation on." The next day the admiral anchored with his ſquadron in Porto Bello harbour, and on the 18th detached the Succeſs and Eleanor "To cruize off the mouth "of the river Chagre for ſeven days, or till "the ſquadron ſhould ſooner appear off there, "for preventing the Spaniſh privateer ſloops "from putting to ſea from thence, or inter- "cepting any thing that might be coming or "going there." The Strafford and Norwich and all the ſmall veſſels being watered, the admiral got them out to ſea on the 22d, leaving orders with the Louiſa and Falmouth "To "haſten in compleating their watering and fol- "low him;" but an accident in the fore-top ſail yard of his ſhip the Strafford retarding her progreſs, he ordered Capt. Herbert in the Norwich "To make all the ſail he could, and en- "ter the harbour of Chagre before him with "the

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" the bomb-ketches and all the fire-ſhips and " tenders under his orders, and Capt. Knowles " as engineer on board the bomb-ketches, for " placing them to play on the caſtle of St. Lo- " renzo, at the mouth of the river Chagre; " and to cover them with his own ſhip and the " reſt. The ſame day Capt. Knowles got to an anchor by three in the afternoon, and began bombarding and cannonading that evening, by ten at night the admiral got alſo to an anchor with his own ſhip the Strafford; as did the Falmouth and Princeſs Louiſa that followed him the ſame night. They continued bombarding and cannonading with three ſhips, firing leiſurely only from their lower tier till Monday the 24th, when the Spaniards hung out a flag of truce from the fort, the admiral anſwered it from his own ſhip, ſtopt all things as ſoon as poſſible, and ſent Capt. Knowles aſhore, who ſoon returned with Don Juan Carlos Gutierer de Ranettas, caſtillanor or governor of the fort, to whom the admiral granted the following capitulation.

1ſt. " THAT upon his Britannic majeſty's " troops being put into immediate poſſeſſion of " the Fort St. Lorenzo, the caſtillanor and all his " garriſon ſhould be at free liberty to march out " without any moleſtation, and retire into the " village of Chagre or where elſe they pleaſed.

2d. " THAT the inhabitants of Chagre might " remain in all ſafety in their habitations, under " a promiſe of ſecurity to themſelves and their " houſes.

3d. " THAT the guarda coſta ſloops ſhould " be delivered up to the uſe of his Britannic ma- " jeſty in the condition they were, and the king " of Spain's cuſtom-houſe.

4th

4th. "THAT the clergy and churches in the "town of Chagre ſhould be protected and "preſerved in all their immunities." CHAP. III.

THE capitulation being thus ſettled and agreed to, the admiral ſent the governor aſhore with Capt. Knowles, whom he appointed governor of the caſtle for his Britannic majeſty, and ſent a garriſon along with him of five lieutenants and 120 men, and all the boats of the fleet to land them; and by three o'clock that afternoon Capt. Knowles entered the fort with his garriſon. The ſame evening Capt. Knowles ſent and placed a guard upon the cuſtom-houſe on the oppoſite ſide of the river Chagre; and Admiral Vernon went on ſhore himſelf by day-break the next morning to give all neceſſary orders, and found the cuſtom-houſe full of goods for the lading of the galleons, ſuch as guayaquil, cocoa, jeſuit's bark, and Spaniſh wool; and gave immediate orders for their being ſpeedily ſhipped off. The number of ſerons and bags of goods amounted to 4,300. The two guarda coſta ſloops in the river (which were all the guarda coſtas that were left in thoſe parts) were ſunk juſt above the cuſtom-houſe, carpenters being ordered to break up their decks and entirely deſtroy them. 1740.

THE cuſtom-houſe being entirely cleared by Friday the 28th, was filled with cumbuſtible matter of the neighbouring huts, and ſet on fire that evening, which burnt with great fierceneſs all that night.

ON the 29th in the morning the braſs cannon being embarked, which were eleven guns and eleven patteraroes, and a good part of the garriſon; the mines were ſprung under the lower baſtion, which entirely demoliſhed it: then two mines were ſprung to blow up ſome of the upper parts

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parts of the works; afterwards all the inner buildings of the caſtle were ſet on fire, and were burning all the night of the 29th. On the 30th Vice Admiral Vernon put to ſea with his ſquadron; and on the 1ſt of April in the evening got to the mouth of the harbour of Porto Bello, where he was joined by the Windſor and Greenwich, juſt arrived from their cruize off Carthagena; and on the 2d was joined alſo by the Burford, which he had left to be repaired at Jamaica.

ON the 5th the admiral ordered Mr. Henry Barnſley "To take upon him the command of "the little Spaniſh prize ſloop that had been "carreened in Porto Bello harbour, and to carry "Mr. Joſhua Thomas, Purſer of the Strafford, "to England, with the packet for the govern-"ment committed to his care, with an account "of the ſucceſs of this expedition." The admiral, after ſailing from Porto Bello, received advice that two Spaniſh men of war bound from Ferrol, with the vice roy of the kingdom of St. Fee, were arrived at St. John de Porto Rico, and imagining the vice roy might probably chooſe to fall in with the port of St. Martha, being within his government, before he proceeded to Carthagena; the admiral being off the little Baru, on the 21ſt ordered the Windſor, Greenwich and Burford, under the direction of Capt. Berkley "To cruize juſt to windward of St. "Martha, for intercepting the vice roy;" but the Spaniſh men of war eſcaped their vigilance, and ſafely conducted the vice roy to Carthagena, with 600 ſoldiers, deſigned for reinforcing the garriſon of Porto Bello; while Admiral Vernon with the reſt of the ſquadron ſoon after returned to Jamaica.

THE

THE admiral, both at Porto Bello and Chagre, shewed the true spirit of his countrymen; their intrepidity in attacking, their moderation in victory, their disinterestedness in the use of it, and their honour in observing capitulations: for this he was highly commended by the Spaniards, who found in him the true glory of his heroic countrymen, whose courage was exceeded by nothing but their clemency, on which alone they founded their eternal fame. CHAP. III. 1740.

THE admiral was obliged to demolish the fortifications at Porto Bello and Chagre, as he was incapable of maintaining them through the want of a proper supply of land forces; and had he been provided with only 2,000, he might have kept possession of Porto Bello and made himself master of Panama, by which means he would have laid the whole coast of Chili and Peru, and the western coast of Mexico, open both to the trade and the attacks of the British subjects; and by being thus possessed of the isthmus of Darien, by receiving proper reinforcements, there would have been a great probability of even seizing the mines of Peru.

A SCHEME having been recommended at Jamaica to Governor Trelawny to procure the assistance of the Mosquito Indians, and distress the Spaniards in Guatimala, one of the provinces of Mexico, it gained the governor's approbation; who was also informed, that from the particular situation and trade of that part of the continent, great advantages and wealth might accrue to the undertakers. In pursuance of this representation, Governor Trelawny, after having previously solicited and gained a promise of assistance from the Mosquito nation, in October sent Lieut. Hodgson for the coast of Honduras, with a necessary sup-

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ply of arms and ammunition for the Mosquito Indians, who on his arrival found them assembled, and ready for any expedition. This is a small but warlike body of Indians, strongly attached to the British interest, and perpetually at variance with the Spaniards; and with 500 of these hardy men under his command, Lieutenant Hodgson proceeded to a Spanish settlement on Carpenter's River, about 120 leagues west of Porto Bello, where they made a considerable booty in silver and cocoa; and as the Spaniards never entertained the least suspicion of such an enterprize, they had made no preparations to prevent the execution of it, so that if this party of men had expeditiously pushed their way, they might have plundered and destroyed all the Spanish settlements in their passage, and probably have surprized the opulent town of Panama, their principal view: but the Indians, discontented at the prospect of so long and laborious a march, refused to proceed, and Lieutenant Hodgson was obliged to abandon the enterprize and to return to Jamaica. Had such an expedition been properly conducted with 1,000 able disciplined men, great advantages might have attended it; for the European Spaniards act like arbitrary tyrants over the natives, both Creol Spaniards and Indians, who might be very easily induced to revolt, and promote any invasion, in a country where they are treated with the utmost servility and contempt; nay, not above four years before Lieutenant Hodgson's expedition, 30,000 Indians who inhabited near La Vera Paz, on the borders of Honduras, actually renounced any allegiance to the Spaniards, threw off the galling yoke of slavery, and shewed a determined resolution to defend their independence and liberty. Therefore, on being properly

properly ſupplied with arms, how willing and how fond would they have been to have united their ſtrength and efforts to rout the Spaniards out of the country; or by altering their conditions, to make thoſe uſurping and cruel maſters, hewers of wood and drawers of water, to the very ſlaves they had ſo deſpicably uſed and ungenerouſly debaſed? And if there once had been a conſiderable inſurrection of the Guatimalla Indians, vigorouſly ſupported by their neighbours the Muſquitoes, and a proper force from Jamaica, a general revolt would ſoon have enſued throughout the whole Spaniſh territories, both in Mexico and Peru, which they were much inclined to, and wanted nothing but arms to recover the native freedom of their anceſtors, before they fell a barbarous and wanton ſacrifice to the avarice of the ſubjects, and aggrandizement of the crown of Spain. Such a revolt would have been the more eaſily facilitated, as the Indians have a traditional prophecy among them, "That a nation will, one time or "other, come and aſſiſt them to drive out the "Spaniards;" and happy for Britain had it been effected by her aſſiſtance, the Spaniſh inſolence had then been no longer ſupported by the wealth of the Columbian world, that wealth for which theſe regions of undiſcovered peace and ſimplicity, were inhumanly bathed with the blood of its royal Yncas, and millions of inhabitants, and for which their poſterity would freely devote their lives to procure ample vengeance on the Spaniards: and could they ſucceed in this their cardinal paſſion, revenge, thoſe that aſſiſted them would conſequently be the favourite nation, and reap all the advantages poſſeſſed by the Spaniards; for it is the Indians that cultivate the country, work in the mines, and make all their manufactures,

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which they could do as well if there was not a Spaniard in the country.

CHAPTER IV.

EUROPEAN tranſactions between the courts of GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN in 1740.

PART I. 1740. WHILE Admiral Vernon was thus increaſing his naval honours, the joyful news of the reduction of Porto Bello was ſpread all over the Britiſh dominions immediately after the arrival of Capt. Rentone in London, where he delivered the admiral's letters to the duke of Newcaſtle on the 13th of March. As ſo important an acquiſition was obtained by ſix men of war only, with ſuch an inconſiderable number of land forces, it diffuſed a general joy through the whole kingdom. This enterprize being ſo prudently conducted and ſo bravely executed, the people were now ſenſible of the force of the Britiſh arms, directed by an able commander; the name of Vernon became idolized among the populace, he was looked upon as another Drake or Ruſſel in England, he was eſteemed as a ſecond Raleigh or Blake in America, and highly venerated by all ranks and conditions of men throughout the Britiſh dominions. His Britannic majeſty was ſo fully perſuaded of the admiral's zeal for his ſervice,

service, and of his prudence and good conduct in taking such measures as should the more effectually conduce thereto, that the king did not think it proper to prescribe any particular service to be undertaken by the admiral, but left it entirely to his direction to act against the Spaniards, in such manner and in such places as should appear to him best to answer the ends proposed by his majesty's former orders: his majesty also gave particular command to the duke of Newcastle, to assure the admiral of his entire approbation of his conduct and behaviour shewed in this action, and in the humanity with which he treated the inhabitants after the reduction of Porto Bello. CHAP. IV. 1740.

ON the 18th of March an address was presented to his majesty by both houses of parliament, "Congratulating him on the success of Admiral "Vernon by entering the port and taking the "town of Porto Bello, and demolishing and "levelling all the forts and castles belonging "thereto, with six ships of war only; and re-"presenting that it could not fail of giving the "utmost joy to all his majesty's subjects, since it "afforded the most reasonable hopes and expec-"tations, that it might be attended with other "important advantages, and highly contribute "to the obtaining real and effectual security of "those just rights of navigation and commerce "belonging to his majesty's subjects, for the pre-"servation of which his majesty entered into that "necessary war." In answer to which his majesty was most graciously pleased "To thank "them for their dutiful congratulation on this "success of his arms, which was so much for the "honour and interest of his crown and king-"dom; and that the satisfaction they expressed

PART I. 1740.

" in the measures he had taken was very agreeable to him."

On this occasion the city of London presented an address to his majesty, to congratulate him on the glorious success of Admiral Vernon: they represented " That the execution of this important service, with so small a force and with so much intrepidity, would greatly redound to the reputation of his majesty's arms, and strike a terror into the enemy, who would by experience be convinced (whatever mistaken notions they might have formed from England's long forbearance) that the maritime power of Great Britain being at length exerted, was able effectually to vindicate the glory of his majesty's crown, revenge the injuries of the people, and retrieve the honour of the British flag; assuring his majesty that they would chearfully contribute to the utmost of their abilities, in support of a war so necessary for the protection of their long injured trade, and entered into at the unanimous desire of his majesty's subjects." To which address his majesty was pleased to make answer, " I thank you for your congratulation; you have no reason to doubt but that in all my measures, as I have hitherto had, so I shall continue to have a due regard to the honour and interest of my crown and kingdom, and to the safety and protection of all my subjects."

The parliament voted " That the thanks of both houses should be transmitted to the admiral for his eminent services;" and the citizens of London, as a farther mark of distinction, voted him the freedom of that city, to be presented in a gold box.

The

CHAP. IV.

THE parliament was now at the close of its last session, and busily engaged in granting the necessary supplies for the current year, the more vigorously to enable his majesty to prosecute the war. On the commencement of the war six new regiments of marines were commissioned of 1,000 men each, for the raising of which the house of commons now voted 118,000*l.* and the number of troops on the British establishment for the year 1740, was stipulated at 28,852 men, including the invalids and the highland regiment. 1740.

HIS Britannic majesty intending to visit his German dominions, on the 12th of May nominated the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, earl of Wilmington, lord Hervey; the dukes of Dorset, Grafton, Richmond, Bolton, Devonshire, Montague, and Newcastle; the earls of Pembroke, and Islay; Sir Robert Walpole, and Sir Charles Wager, to be lords Justices during his absence. The next day his majesty embarked for Holland, and landed at Helvoetsluys on the 24th, when he proceeded to Hanover; and during his continuance there, his majesty concluded a treaty of alliance with prince William, landgrave regent of Hesse Cassel, by which the latter "Was to keep in readiness 4,800 "foot and 1,200 horse, for four years for his "majesty's service, for which the landgrave was "to have an annual subsidy of 250,000 bank "crowns."

ON the 9th of April Vice Admiral Balchen sailed from Plymouth Sound, with a squadron of four ships of the line, and steered directly for Cape Finisterre, where he was joined by two other men of war cruizing off that station to intercept the return of the assogue ships to old Spain; but Don Pizarro the Spanish admiral who

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convoyed them, received intelligence by an advice boat of the situation of this squadron; and instead of pursuing the usual course from La vera Cruz by the Madeira or Canary islands, sailed north about by the Bahama's, then westward till within sight of Ireland, so by the Lizard and the coast of France through the bay of Biscay, escaping the vigilance of the English squadrons then cruizing off Cadiz, Cape Vincent, and Cape Finisterre, and arrived at St. Andero laden with an immense treasure.

AT the same time the Spaniards equipped a strong squadron under the command of Admiral Pintado, in quest of Admiral Balchen; and as his force was greatly superior to the English, the Spaniards expected no less than their total defeat: but the Spanish admiral, either through imprudence or accident, never came up with the English fleet, which the Spanish court imputing to a neglect of orders he was afterwards disgraced.

ADMIRAL Haddock, from his character and the whole tenor of his former behaviour, had given many signal and inconteſtable proofs of his courage and abilities; and was universally allowed, worthy the important command of so potent a fleet as the British crown had then in the Mediterranean. This fleet had a long time blocked up the Spanish squadron in the bay of Cadiz, but on an information that the Spaniards intended to invade the island of Minorca, Admiral Haddock sailed up the Mediterranean to prevent the execution of such a design; this opened the port of Cadiz, the Spanish squadron consisting of nine men of war and two frigates, on the 18th of March favoured by the darkness of the night, escaped to Ferrol, and joined another fleet assembled in that port intended for the West Indies,

Indies, with a conſiderable number of troops and a large quantity of warlike ſtores and proviſions. CHAP. IV.

THE Spaniards having drawn a great number of troops together in Galicia, at firſt intended by the aſſiſtance of this fleet to make a deſcent either in England or Ireland; the duke of Ormond was ſent for to undertake the command, but he honourably refuſed to aſſiſt the enemies of his native country on ſo important an occaſion. Theſe troops remained on an uncertain ſituation till they were greatly diminiſhed, and the Spaniſh miniſtry too lately perceived the impracticability of ſuch a deſign for want of all things neceſſary for ſuch a purpoſe, even if there had been no Britiſh fleet to oppoſe their embarkation. 1740.

THE appearance of Admiral Haddock on the coaſt of Minorca, ſufficiently repreſſed any expedition formed againſt that iſland: the admiral with indefatigable diligence protected the merchants veſſels from the innumerable ſwarms of Spaniſh privateers in the Mediterranean, and took two of the Spaniſh tranſports bound for Majorca, with a great number of ſoldiers on board.

IN April the Princeſſa, a Spaniſh man of war of ſeventy guns, commanded by Don Parlo Auguſtino de Gerra, having on board 500 ſailors and 200 marines, the firſt lieutenant and many of them Iriſhmen, was taken near the bay of Cadiz by three Engliſh men of war, after an obſtinate and bloody reſiſtance of ſix hours, and ſoon after the Princeſſa arrived at Portſmouth.

THE convoying of the Spaniſh treaſure from the Indies was rendered very precarious by the ſtation of the Britiſh fleets, and the finances of Spain being reduced to a bad condition, their warlike projects were retarded, or entirely ſuſpended

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pended, for want of money, so that his Catholic majesty was obliged to demand from the college of commerce at Cadiz, a loan of one million of piastres, which the college at first scrupled to comply with, but afterwards agreed to a loan of 800,000, to enable his majesty to equip the united squadrons of Cadiz and Ferrol, then lying in the last mentioned port; on which an order was issued for this formidable armament to be ready to sail at an hour's warning. The Spaniards, to facilitate the destination of their fleet for America, still publickly gave out at Madrid that a design was formed against Scotland or Ireland, thereby imagining to keep on the British coasts those squadrons that ought to be employed for infesting the coasts of Spain.

THE inhabitants of Spain, had for some years been greatly oppressed by their different ministers, who continued in pursuing such measures as they knew were prejudicial to the prosperity and interest of the people; and in these views they obstinately persisted to gratify the pride of their ambitious queen. Alberoni pillaged the nation to procure a regal establishment in Sicily; Ripperda plundered them to gain Parma and Placentia; Patinho fleeced them to perform what the others had only projected; and Campillo owed his reputation to his extorting from an already exhausted people, the supplies demanded for executing the plan of his predecessor; while the Spaniards suggested the same dismal apprehensions from the politics of his successor; for what could they expect from the Schemes of a minister, only supported by, and necessarily devoted to, the precarious and ambitious humour of a tyrannical and imperious queen? surely nothing but a languid impoverishment; for this princess had

had usurped an absolute ascendancy over his Catholic majesty, she alone handled the sceptre, and supported the weight of royalty; while the regal husband abandoned his dignity, supinely and ingloriously to trifle away those important hours, which the duty incumbent on a king, should have devoted to the study and promotion of the interest and happiness of that people providence had committed to his care. This unworthy delegation of the royal authority, did not fail of alarming the Spaniards, by presenting before their eyes that melancholy prospect they unavoidably expected from so perverted an administration, and the insurmountable loss that must consequently ensue and most sensibly affect them, by a deprivation of their most beneficial trade with Great Britain. Struck with an apparent concern, at the complaints and disaffection of the Spaniards, the court of Madrid, conscious of their inability solely to support a war against the crown of Great Britain, immediately had recourse to their secret friend and ally, and addressing the court of France for assistance against so formidable an enemy; and this they might have reasonably expected, from a power whose views and interest are chiefly confined to promote a disunion and aggravate dissentions between the British and Spanish monarchies; but though the Marquis de las Minas, the Spanish embassador at Paris, strongly sollicited the assistance of France, it was for the present politicly refused; for the important crisis was not yet arrived for the French ministry to throw off the mask of peace and friendship with the British nation, suspending the blow till the wealth of that power had been sufficiently exhausted and her power diminished; like an invidious crocodile,

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dile, France lay cautiously waiting a more favourably opportunity to declare her enmity; an affected neutrality filled her ports with commerce, her provinces with plenty, and her treasury with that profusion of opulence which afterwards enabled her to maintain such potent armies, and make such valuable acquisitions, as to threaten the safety and endanger the liberty of all Europe. From the British conquests in America, the court of Spain still more perceptibly found their inequality to continue the war, without the concurrence of France; and loudly complained at the pacific conduct of the court of Versailles, where the Spanish minister insisting that France was bound to appear openly in the vindication and favour of Spain, and by his frequent repetitions on a subject, at that time, so unharmonious to the ears of Cardinal de Fleury, he was, through his influence, recalled, and even disgraced; a surprizing instance of his eminency's superintendency over the cabinet of Madrid, and how absolutely that court was submissively devoted to the policy of France.

THE designs of the French ministry were too impervious to be penetrated by the Spaniards, their motives had a very different tendency than to the service and interest of Spain, and the deluded court of Madrid was only employed and actuated by France, as a necessary utensil to pave the way to that unlimited greatness her ambition was ever soaring. True, inflamed by this ambition, France has often spread war and desolation round the regions of Europe; yet is it not less certain, that her necessity has frequently opened a similar scene of havoc and devastation; for when the plains of France smile in the serenity of peace, when plenty crowns her fields

fields with golden harvests, and her exuberant vineyards are filled with autumnal clusters, amid these scenes of pleasure and abundance the poor peasant can neither gratify his hunger, indulge his thirst, nor cloath his body to preserve it from the heat of summer, or secure it from the inclemency of winter; this gripe of poverty creates a desire of war among the rustics; war, if it is not to them as it was to the Lacedæmonians, a pleasure, is certainly a relief, as it frees them from the most parsimonious kind of diet, yields them the military cloathing, and a sustenance infinitely more comfortable from the royal allowance: the merchants are never averse to a war against England or Holland, as their ships swarm on the seas in much greater numbers than the French, and give them an opportunity of increasing their fortunes by the success of their privateers: the nobility and gentry of France are ever arduous for a war, as their patrimonial fortunes are generally too slender to support their quality, which receives an additional lustre from any important command in the army; and the kings of France have long founded their interest on a vigorous and transient war; so that war is universally the interest of the whole kingdom of France, and the shorter its duration the more advantageous it proves; for by a permanent, though successful, war, the force of France would be reduced and the nation impoverished, as their trade is too insufficient to afford the necessary supplies, and by a reduction of the royal finances the king would be unable to maintain his army. Hence it appears that the views of France, both in war and peace, though effected by different motives, terminate by the same cause, necessity. It was this necessity compelled the French to ratify the treaty of Utrecht,

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no other, especially with regard to Great Britain; for that treaty was so far from reconciling the opposite interests of the two crowns, that every motive of competition still subsisted between them, they were still rivals in trade and adversaries in religion, and the same effects are always to be expected from the same causes. From that day the French were industriously engaged in repairing the ruins of a long and destructive war, in restoring credit, and re-establishing trade, protracting their scheme of universal monarchy, till they should be able to prosecute it with vigour; and appeared wholly employed in the business of traffic, and the arts of peace, that they might lull the world in negligence, and surprize the neighbouring powers in their security with an unexpected burst of invasion. They found themselves in a condition almost ready to strike the blow for universal monarchy, and were only impeded through the apprehensions of the formation of too potent a confederacy to obstruct their ambition; in this the court of Great Britain, the house of Austria, and the States General, were the most natural allies; and therefore to seize the most convenient opportunity privately to distress, divide, amuse, and deceive these powers, was the principal aim of the politics of France. Accordingly, the foundation of her aspiring greatness was laid by the war between Great Britain and Spain, which the French ministry had indefatigably promoted, by encouraging the Spaniards to continue their unjust depredations on the English in the West Indies, fomenting the dissentions, and exaggerating on the differences existing between the two crowns, and promising the court of Madrid assistance and relief; which after the departure of the marquis de las Minas from Paris, they

they put in execution, by ſending a ſtrong ſquadron from Breſt and Toulon under the marquis de Antin to Martinico, one of their ſettlements in the Weſt Indies, with ſecret orders not only to act in a hoſtile manner againſt the Britiſh ſubjects, either jointly with the Spaniards or ſeparately, but even to concert meaſures with them for attacking Jamaica; and when the earl of Waldegrave, the Britiſh embaſſador at the court of France, demanded the reaſon of equipping this armament; the cardinal told him, "That "there was difference between arming and de- "claring war; and that it was true his moſt "Chriſtian majeſty had promiſed a neutrality, "but as unforeſeen accidents might happen, it "was prudence to be prepared againſt all events." To give themſelves the greater ſecurity from the reſentment of the crown of Great Britain, and to iritate that nation to a retaliation of injuries by a ſpeedy declaration of war, the French committed a notorious contravention of the treaty of Utrecht, by repairing and refortifying the port of Dunkirk; that port, which by this treaty they had been compelled to deſtroy, which they had ſolemnly ſtipulated never to reſtore, and from which more moleſtation might ariſe to the Britiſh commerce than from all the other coaſts of France, as it would enable the French to croud the channel with privateers, and purſue the Britiſh merchants even to their own ports; nor could all the remonſtrances made by the Britiſh and Dutch embaſſadors, againſt ſo public an infraction of ſo ſolemn a treaty, in the leaſt deter the French from continuing the work, which they completed without interruption. Upon this his moſt Chriſtian majeſty publiſhed a declaration to vindicate the neceſſity of fitting out the fleet under the

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the marquis de Antin, and the fortifying Dunkirk and port l'Orient; wherein he declares, "That after the taking of Porto Bello and Chagre, the ambaſſador of Great Britain was from "that time advertiſed in his majeſty's name, that "the Engliſh ought not to think that France "beheld with an eye of indifference the enterprizes which the Engliſh nation had formed "in America, nor that the king would ſuffer "them to make any eſtabliſhment in the Weſt "Indies; that the declaration was renewed, in "proportion as the preparations againſt America "were ſeen to indicate more certainly projects "of conqueſts; and the Britiſh ambaſſador not "returning any anſwer on a point ſo important, "the king thought that he ought not any longer "to defer fitting out his ſhips, to put himſelf in "a condition of preventing a danger that became every day more preſſing; alledging for "the precautions taken at the city de l'Orient "and Dunkirk, that they were only to hinder "any ſurprize from the Engliſh corſairs," though it eventually appeared quite the reverſe.

In times of war the predominant paſſion of Engliſhmen is a fierce and reſolute reſentment againſt their enemy; ever jealous of their naval honour, they chearfully grant any ſubſidies requiſite to maintain their illuſtrious character, and hold their lives and fortunes devoted to the uſe and intereſt of their king and country: this makes them fond of ſeeing their military power exerted: but the miniſtry was too timerous to gratify their wiſhes, and ſuſtained the loudeſt popular exclamations againſt their pacific conduct with a long and ſurprizing patience; they knew the power of France, they dreaded its alliance with Spain, and were too cautiouſly endeavouring to ſtifle the leaſt

least incentives which the miniſtry of Paris might embrace to favour the Spaniards with an auxiliary aſſiſtance: this, and the repeated declarations of France not to ſuffer Spain to be diſmantled of her poſſeſſions in America, intimidated the Britiſh miniſtry from purſuing thoſe vigorous and neceſſary meaſures they would otherwiſe have purſued. But the detention of ſuch magnificent fleets, and ſuch numbers of ſailors, indolently riding in their own ports, was too apparent a foundation for creating a public diſguſt, and increaſing the uneaſineſs which had been already openly avowed; therefore ſome expedition was neceſſary to amuſe the nation, and ſmother their diſcontent, while at the ſame time the French ſhould receive no provocation to arm in favour of the Spaniards; and poſſibly with this view a ſecret expedition was projected, for which a very potent fleet was aſſembled at Portſmouth, where, on the 24th of June, Sir John Norris, admiral of the red, hoiſted his flag on board the unfortunate Victory, a firſt rate of 110 guns, having under him Philip Cavendiſh, Eſq; admiral, and Sir Chaloner Ogle, rear admiral of the blue, and on the 5th of July his royal highneſs the Duke of Cumberland embarked with the admiral, as a volunteer in the intended expedition. The deſignation of this well-appointed navy conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line and three fire ſhips, was variouſly conjectured; ſome reported as though it was intended to bombard Sebaſtians; others inſinuated that a conſpiracy had been diſcovered in Galicia in favour of the Engliſh, and that this preſented a fair opportunity to favour an invaſion on the coaſts of that province; while others, with the ſame uncertainty, ſurmiſed an attempt on the Spaniſh ſquadron at Ferrol: but whatever were

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the true and real motives of fitting out so puissant a fleet, the scheme proved ineffectual and fruitless; for after being detained, about a week, at St Helens by contrary winds, the fleet sailed from thence on the 14th of July, with the convoy and merchant ships for Portugal and the Streights; but meeting with hard gales of wind at S. W. wherein the Lion man of war ran foul of the Victory and carried away her bowsprit, and the Lion losing her fore-mast, the fleet returned to St Helens; and on the 22d sailed again, but were detained at Torbay for near a month, and on the 13th of September returned to Spithead; where, on his royal highness disembarking, an enterprize that had engrossed the whole public attention, and after having drawn upon it the eyes of all Europe, thus ingloriously completed so shameful and expensive an undertaking, without effecting any thing more than causing four French men of war to sail from Brest, and attend the motions of the British admiral; when at the same time there was force enough to have levelled the strongest fortifications in Spain. Though if this fleet had actually sailed and ravaged the coasts of Spain, it must have been an impolitic scheme; as it could tend only to compel the Spaniards into a peace, before the British nation had secured such advantages as they might have reasonably expected in the West Indies, by a proper exertion of their naval power in those seas, where they could have defied the whole world. Such pomp and ostentation in the European seas was useless; had the British fleet scoured the seas at home, with separate men of war, and drove away the privateers, who were preying on their trade and infesting even their very coasts, keeping at the same time a sufficient strength against any attack,

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it would have been more satisfactory to the mercantile and general part of the nation, than any success they could expect to have attended a descent on the coasts of Spain, where little advantage could be obtained. CHAP. IV. 1740.

On the 13th of October his Britannic majesty arrived at St James's from his German dominions. In November the parliament met, and his majesty opened the sessions with a speech, wherein he declared "His resolution of prosecuting vigorously the war with Spain, even though France "should declare in her favour, as some late extraordinary proceedings showed her inclination to do." The house of commons voted 40,000 seamen and ten new regiments of foot and marines, for the service of the ensuing year, for which they granted a land tax of four shillings in the pound. To encourage the seamen and commanders effectually to perform their duty, a bill was passed to vest the prizes solely in the captors; this animated the navy, for before his majesty had a considerable share out of every capture taken by the men of war; and in December the house of commons granted his majesty a further supply of 200,000 *l.* towards the carrying on of a secret expedition.

Though his Britannic majesty's instructions to Commodore Anson were dated January 31, yet the commodore did not receive them from the Duke of Newcastle, the principal secretary of state, until the 28th of June, together with an additional instruction from the lords justices dated June 19. On the receipt of these, the commodore immediately repaired to Spithead, resolving to sail with the first fair wind, but was disappointed through the want of 300 seamen of his complement, which occasioned an inevitable delay, till the end of July, before this deficiency met

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with any ſupply, and that ſo far ſhort of his expectations, that inſtead of 300 able ſailors, the commodore's ſquadron was only augmented with 170 men, of which 98 were marines; and to increaſe his mortification, as the commodore expected that Colonel Bland's regiment and three independant companies of 100 men each were to embark as land forces on board the ſquadron, he now found this diſpoſition was changed for 500 invalids to be collected from the out-penſions of Chelſea college: indeed as theſe out-penſioners are computed to be generally about 2,000 in number, there was a poſſibility of culling out 500 ſomewhat capable of diſcharging their duty in this perillous enterprize; but alas! inſtead of men hardy, ſtrong, and fit to encounter with the difficulties and fatigues ſuch a ſquadron muſt neceſſarily undergo, this was the moſt aged and infirm detachment that could be collected out of the whole body. The commodore was greatly deceived at having ſuch a decrepid land force allotted him, and the old veterans, ſenſible of the dangers they were to encounter, conſcious that they muſt moſt of them periſh through diſeaſes in ſuch a laborious voyage before they arrived at the ſcene of action, and without contributing in the leaſt to the ſucceſs of the deſign; and diſguſted at being thus hurried away from that repoſe their former ſervices for the public good had juſtly deſerved, out of the 500 no leſs than 241 deſerted, and thoſe that came on board were loaded with age and infirmities, moſt of them being ſixty and ſome upwards of ſeventy, and the whole much fitter to ſpend the remainder of their lives in the ſerenity of peace, and the enjoyment of that exemption and tranquility from arms, granted by every nation to the reſpect of age worn out

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in their country's ſervice, and for which the royal maſter of theſe antient veterans, had ſo comfortably provided to ſupport them in the decline of life. To ſupply the deficiency of the invalids which had deſerted, on the 8th of Auguſt, 210 marines detached from different regiments, being raw undiſciplined men, came on board; and the ſquadron being now fitted out in the beſt manner the commodore was able to procure, he made the neceſſary preparations for ſailing. CHAP. IV. 1740.

THIS ſquadron conſiſted of the following five men of war, ſloop of war, and two victualling ſhips;

Ships Names	Commanders	Guns	Men
The Centurion	Com. Anſon	60	400
Glouceſter	Capt. R. Norris	50	300
Severn	Hon. Ed. Legg	50	300
Pearl	Matt. Mitchel	40	250
Wager	Dandy Kidd	28	160
Tryal Sloop	Hon. J. Murray	8	100
	Total	236	1510

the two victuallers were pinks, one of 400 and the other of 200 ton burden, and were to attend the ſquadron, till the proviſions taken on board were ſo far conſumed as to make room for the additional quantity the victuallers carried with them, which when taken into the men of war, the victuallers were to be diſcharged. Beſides the above complement of men as the ſhip's crews, there were embarked on board the ſquadron about 470 invalids and marines, under the denomination of land forces, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Mordaunt Cracherode.

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On the 10th of Auguſt the ſquadron ſailed from Spithead to St Helens, where the commodore was detained chiefly through the want of poſitive orders for his ſailing, without joining company with another fleet under Sir Chaloner Ogle, until the 18th of September, when he weighed, and though the wind was unfavourable at firſt, he tided it down and got clear of the channel in four days; and after parting with the American, Turkey, and Streights convoy, on the 29th, the commodore proceeded on the expedition with his whole ſquadron, and arrived at the iſland of Madera on the 25th of October. The commodore, as well as the crews of the whole ſquadron, could not conceal their concern at the dilatory obſtructions that prevented them from ſetting out at a more ſeaſonable time of the year; this too was increaſed by their long paſſage to the Maderas, and they began to entertain the melancholly reflections of the extraordinary danger in paſſing round Cape Horn in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year; and were ſhocked with the apprehenſions of all that diſmal train of diſtreſſes that afterwards happened to them, by the ſeparation of the ſquadron, in thoſe rough and ſtormy ſeas, they were then directing their courſe to.

They continued about a week at Madera, watering their ſhips, and providing the ſquadron with wine and other refreſhments, but on the 3d of November, Capt. Norris being taken ill, and deſiring to return to England for the recovery of his health, the commodore appointed Capt. Mitchel to command the Glouceſter in his room, removed Capt. Kidd to the Pearl, and Capt. Murray to the Wager, giving the command of the

the Trial ſloop to Lieutenant Cheap. The next day the commodore gave to the captains their orders, "Appointing their rendezvous, in caſe of "ſeparation, at the iſland of St Catherine's, on the "coaſt of Brazil, in South America;" and the ſame day the ſquadron weighed anchor from Madera, ſteering their courſe for St Catherine's, where they arrived on the 21ſt of December; having, in their paſſage, loſt a great number of men, by the heat and intemperature of the warm climates, and many others were confined to their hammocks, in calentures, paſt all hopes of recovery, and ſome in a very languid and ſickly condition, afflicted with fluxes or teneſmus's, attendant on a recovery from the calenture; ſo that with great joy they diſcovered the coaſt of Brazil, where they expected refreſhment and a recovery of health. Having moored the ſhips, their firſt care was to get the ſick men on ſhore to refreſh them, the next in wooding and watering the ſquadron, cleanſing the ſhips, and examining and ſecuring the maſts and rigging. The ſeaſon of the year growing each day leſs favourable for their paſſage round Cape Horn, the commodore was very deſirous of leaving the iſland, but was detained in ſecuring the maſts of the Trial to the 18th of January, when the ſquadron, after burying many of their men, and ſickneſs ſtill increaſing, left the iſland, and ſailed to Port St Julian on the coaſt of Patagonia.

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FROM the glorious ſucceſſes of Admiral Vernon, the Britiſh nation was convinced, how much time, and how many opportunities, had been loſt in oppreſſing the Spaniards, and evidently ſaw what ignominy the nation had ſuffered by their former timidity. It is a laſting reproach, on the

conduct

PART I. 1740. conduct of the acting ministers, that no land forces were sent with Admiral Vernon, to enable him to push his conquests farther by land; and the house of commons particularly reflected on their backwardness in not supporting him from time to time with more ships, and a constant supply of fresh stores, provisions, and other necessaries. Indeed the British ministry were prevailed on, with great reluctancy, to prosecute the war with vigour; but as they could neither diminish the glory of Admiral Vernon, nor lessen the importance of his enterprizes, both of which they attempted, they thought it most prudent to join in the national acclamations, and to seem as forward as any in the addresses of congratulation, assuming at the same time great merit to themselves, since the admiral acted, as they said, by their orders; and therefore to avoid any further clamours, they pretended to be as much in earnest as the rest of the nation, and determined to send the admiral a reinforcement of ships, and a sufficient number of troops, to enable him, still higher, to advance the reputation of the British arms.

ACCORDINGLY the regiments of Harrison and Wentworth, six regiments of marines, and some detachments from other regiments, were ordered to embark for the West Indies, under the command of Lord Cathcart; at first six ships only were appointed for his convoy, but upon advice that the Ferrol squadron of twelve men of war had sailed for the West Indies, and that the Brest and Toulon squadrons were also gone there to secure the galleons, wherein they were so much concerned, and also to prevent the British forces making any conquest upon the Spaniards, for which, they said, they were guarantees

tees by the treaty of Utrecht; this occaſioned a larger convoy for the troops under Lord Cathcart, ſo as to make Admiral Vernon equal to thoſe ſquadrons. This fleet aſſembled at Portſmouth, under the command of Sir Chaloner Ogle, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips, with about 12,000 ſailors on board, and the ſeveral regiments under the command of Lord Cathcart; and after many obſtacles, ſailed the 26th of October. CHAP. IV. 1740.

BUT though the reſpective deſtinations of theſe ſquadrons, under Sir Chaloner Ogle and Commodore Anſon, were not confidently reported in England, it appeared that the Spaniards had received true and early intelligence for what they were intended; and accordingly the Ferrol ſquadron, of twelve men of War from ſixty to eighty guns, and three frigates, commanded by Don Rodrigo de Torres, having found an opportunity of eſcaping Admiral Haddock, on the 20th of July ſailed for America, with 2,000 land forces on board, and uninterruptedly proceeded to ſtrengthen their ſettlements in the Weſt Indies; while the Britiſh fleet, by being delayed to ſo late a ſeaſon of the year, ſuffered a ſhameful detention in their harbours, and were incapable of getting through the channel, till after the Spaniards had put themſelves in a condition to make a vigorous reſiſtance wherever they ſhould be attacked.

BY the long delay put to Commodore Anſon's ſquadron, the Spaniſh court had been well adviſed of its deſtination; and purpoſely to attend their motions, and circumvent the projects of the commodore, the Spaniards fitted out a ſquadron, under the command of Don Joſeph Pizarro, compoſed of the following ſhips:

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Ships Names		Guns	Men
The Aſia	Don Pizarro	66	700
Guipuſcoa		74	700
Hermiona		54	500
Eſperanza		50	450
St Eſtevan		40	350
A Patache		20	150
	Total	304	2,850

THESE ſhips were victualled for four months, and beſides their complement of ſailors and marines, had on board an old Spaniſh regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garriſons on the coaſt of the South Seas; and lay cruizing near Madera for three or four days in the latter end of October, to prevent the expedition under Commodore Anſon; and had they cruized to the eaſtward, inſtead of the weſtward, of the iſland, they might have done it with great facility, as they would have certainly fallen in with the Britiſh ſquadron, and obliged them to throw overboard great quantities of proviſions to clear their ſhips for an engagement; and this alone, without any regard to the eventual fortune of the action, would have effectually prevented their progreſs: but Pizarro not meeting with the Britiſh ſquadron, on his cruize to the leeward of the Maderas, left that ſtation in the beginning of November, and ſteered for the river of Plate in South America.

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CHAPTER V.

State of the ENGLISH and SPANIARDS, in the northern part of AMERICA; and GENERAL OGLETHORPE's expedition againſt ST AUGUSTINE, in 1740.

UPON the continent of North America, the war alſo extended between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain; where the Spaniards had long looked upon the Britiſh ſettlements, as territories diſmembered from their American empire; for the crown of Spain, pretended a right to all America, under a grant from the Pope; and when the Engliſh began to eſtabliſh Virginia, they not only proteſted againſt it, but attempted, though in vain, to diſlodge them.

KING Charles II. having granted a charter of the lands to the ſouth of Virginia, which he erected into a province, and called Carolina; this, under the ſame vain pretence of the Pope's grant, the Spaniards oppoſed, attacking and deſtroying a ſettlement, made by Lord Cardroſs, in the ſouthern part of that province, and killing moſt of his people. But the northern part improved, and encreaſed greatly; and

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Charles Town, the capital of South Carolina, became conſiderable; though the Spaniards, ſtirring up the Indians to harraſs them, they were eternally diſquieted; till in the year 1733, his Britannic majeſty divided the ſouth part from the reſt of Carolina, and made it a diſtinct province, under the name of Georgia; which was bounded to the N. E, and ſeparated from Carolina, by the river Savanna, and on the S. extended to the Spaniſh frontiers of Florida. This country was then entirely in the poſſeſſion of the Indians; and was acknowledged to them, by a treaty made by the governor and people of Carolina with the Creek Indians, whereby they mutually agreed that neither party ſhould paſs the ſaid river.

JAMES OGLETHORPE, Eſq; one of the truſtees of Georgia, who led the Engliſh colony into that province, on his arrival in 1733, concluded a treaty with all the cantons of the Creek Indians, by which they agreed to that colony's ſettling in their part of the province of Georgia, upon certain conditions; he alſo concluded a treaty with the two nations of Cherokees and Chickaſſaws, relating to their part of the ſame province; and from that time the Indians never moleſted the Engliſh ſettlement in Carolina.

MR OGLETHORPE alſo concluded a proviſional treaty with the governor of Auguſtine, and general of Florida, relating to the boundaries between the Engliſh and Spaniards, till the pleaſure of the two courts could be known; by which the river St Mathea, which the Spaniards called St John's, remained the limits between the two nations, being the ſame river mentioned in the grant of King Charles II. and lies

lies in 30 deg. 10 m. as the river Savanna does in 32 deg. 0 m. CHAP. V.

WHEN the Spaniſh court in 1737, ſtill aggravated their differences with the Engliſh, Don Thomas Geraldino, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of London, preſented a memorial, demanding all the land to 33 deg. 30 m. N. latitude in America, and required the government to order the Engliſh ſubjects to withdraw; but if this could not be done, inſiſting that at leaſt no troops ſhould be ſent there, and particularly remonſtrated againſt the return of Mr Oglethorpe, who was then in England. At the ſame time news arrived from Commodore Dent, who commanded his Britannic majeſty's ſhips at Jamaica; and from Governor Bull, who commanded in Carolina; that the Spaniards, at the Havanna, were preparing embarkations, and 3,000 men, to invade Carolina. His Britannic majeſty, upon this, immediately appointed Mr Oglethorpe general of his forces in Carolina and Georgia, ordered him to raiſe a regiment, and repair there; where he arrived time enough to prevent the execution of the Spaniſh deſigns, though a conſiderable number of their troops had already got to Auguſtine. 1740.

WHEN the reprizals were publiſhed in America, a party of the garriſon of Auguſtine came up and ſurprized two highlanders upon the iſland of Amelia, cut off their heads, and mangled their bodies with all the wantoning of inhumanity; General Oglethorpe went immediately in purſuit of them, and with ſuch expedition, that he followed them by land and water, above a hundred miles in leſs than twenty-four hours, but they eſcaped. However the general, by way of reprizal, paſſed the river St Mathea, or St John's, into Florida, drove in the guards of Spaniſh horſe, poſted upon that river, and advanced

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vanced as far as a place called the Canallas; at the same time sending Capt. Dunbar with a party up the river St Mathea, to reconnoitre a fort called Pickalata, near that river, upon the lakes of Florida, twenty miles from the sea; which they attacked, but, having no artillery, were repulsed: notwithstanding they accomplished the general's intentions, having well viewed both that place and another fort called St Francis, upon the same lakes. In January, General Oglethorpe returned to Frederica, the chief town in the south of Georgia, where he met with Capt. Warren, who was lately arrived with the Squirrel man of war; and having consulted with him, Capt. Warren went and cruized off the bar of Augustine, whilst General Oglethorpe, with a detachment of troops on board of boats, and some artillery, went up the lakes of Florida, rowing by day and sailing by night, so that he attacked the two forts of Pickalata and St Francis, and took them the same day. From the information of the prisoners, which confirmed the other accounts the general had of the weak condition of Augustine; he sent up to Charles Town, to desire the assistance of the people of Carolina, and to consult measures with the commanders of the men of war, in order immediately to block up Augustine, before the Spaniards could receive provisions and assistance from Cuba; which if executed, the place must, in all probability, be soon reduced.

AUGUSTINE is the principal town of strength in Spanish Florida, situate at the mouth of the river Matanzas, about twenty leagues south of the river St Mathea, or St John's, the boundary of Georgia; whose inhabitants had shewn great indications of their inclination to infest the people of Carolina, having, by ungenerous artifies,

fies, been long attempting to raiſe an inſurrec- CHAP.
tion among the ſlaves of that province, which V.
was effected in September, 1739, and twenty-
three of the white inhabitants maſſacred in a moſt 1740.
cruel and barbarous manner; but the militia engaging the revolters, defeated and killed, or took the greateſt part of them priſoners: this, as occaſioned by the inſtigation of the Spaniards, created an univerſal concern through the province of ſouth Carolina, for they expected nothing leſs than thus continually to feel the cruelty of the Spaniards; they looked on St Auguſtine, in the ſame manner their mother country had formerly done on the African Sallee, as a den of thieves and Ruffians, and the receptacle of debtors and ſlaves, to whom, by a proclamation publiſhed at Auguſtine, they had promiſed freedom and protection on their deſertion from the Engliſh. Such a proceeding awakened the attention of all the inhabitants of Carolina; every one that had any relation, any tie of nature, every one that had a life to loſe, was ſenſibly ſhocked at ſuch a danger daily impending over their heads; and to aggravate their concern, they had information that the remainder of the preparations made at the Havanna in 1737 for invading Carolina, were now ready for that purpoſe: prompted by ſuch ſtrong incentives, the lieutenant-governor, the council, aſſembly, and inhabitants of Carolina, ſeemed very ready to aſſiſt General Oglethorpe, on an enterprize ſo promiſing of ſucceſs, and ſo likely to deſtroy all their fears from the incurſions of the Spaniards.

THE Indian nations in Georgia, having alſo been conſiderably engaged in the proſecution of the war, it may be proper to give ſome deſcription

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ſcription of their ſtate and manners, for the better explaining of thoſe actions in which they were concerned; eſpecially, as this may be depended upon to be, the moſt natural and perfect account of theſe nations, than has hitherto been delivered into the hands of the public. In this province there are three conſiderable nations, the one called the Cherokees, inhabiting amongſt the mountains from whence the river Savanna deſcends; theſe are not the moſt warlike, nor of the larger ſtature, but are more accuſtomed to labour and live upon corn, than to procure their ſuſtenance by hunting; they have about 5,000 warriors or hunters; for the Indian nations are divided into two kinds of men; thoſe who they call warriors or hunters, are like the antient gentlemen in Europe, whoſe ſingle profeſſion was arms and chace. The next nation is the Chickaſaws, a warlike and bold people, large of ſtature, patient of fatigues, and of generous and noble ſentiments; who have diſputed the Miſſiſippi river with the French, and after many bloody engagements, ſtill keep poſſeſſion of the banks of that river, and hinder the free communication of the French in Canada with thoſe of the Louiſiana. The third nation are the Indians called Creeks by the Engliſh, becauſe their country lies chiefly amongſt rivers, which the American Engliſh call creeks; the real name of theſe is Uſcheſees; their language is the ſofteſt and moſt copious of all the Indians, and looked upon to be the radical language; for they can make themſelves underſtood by almoſt all the other Indians of the continent: they are divided into three people, upper, lower, and middle Creeks, the two former governed by their reſpective chiefs, whom they honour with a royal denomination, who are, nevertheleſs, in the moſt material

material part of their government, subordi- CHAP. nate to the chief of the latter, who bears an V. imperial title: their country lies between the Spaniſh Florida and the Cherokee mountains, 1740. and from the Atlantic ocean to the gulph of Mexico: they are a tall, well-limbed people, very brave in war, and are, as it were, the ſpartans of that part of the world; being as much reſpected in the ſouth, as the five nations or Iroquois are in the north part of America. The Indians look upon the end of life to be, living happily; for this purpoſe their whole cuſtoms are calculated to prevent avarice, which they ſay imbitters life, and nothing is a ſeverer reflection among them, than to ſay, that a man loves his own: to prevent the riſe and propagation of ſuch a vice, they, upon the death of any Indian, burn all that belongs to the deceaſed, that there may be no temptation for the parent to hoard up a ſuperfluity of arms, and domeſtic conveniencies, their chief treaſures, for his children: they ſtrengthen this cuſtom by a ſuperſtition, that it is agreeable to the ſouls of the deceaſed to burn all they leave, and that afflictions follow them who uſe any of their goods: they cultivate no more land than is neceſſary for their plentiful ſubſiſtance, and hoſpitality to ſtrangers; they uſe neither horſes nor plows in agriculture, but, inſtead of plowing or digging, hoe their fields by common labour. The reſt of the year they ſpend in hunting; and when they are injured by any other nation, as ſuppoſing one of their own nation to be killed, they ſend to demand ſatisfaction; but if this is refuſed, they make reprizals upon the firſt they can take of the nation that committed the injury: and thus their wars begin; which are very frequent, and carried on with great rage,

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there not being any people in the world braver, or more dextrous in the uſe of their arms, and manner of fight amongſt woods and mountains, none more patient of labour, nor ſwifter of foot.

THESE people were, with difficulty, gained by General Oglethorpe to aſſiſt in the war againſt the Spaniards, and it was ſo much the harder to accompliſh, becauſe the Creeks had frequent intercourſe and friendſhip with them; but the general ſending them the marks of the blood ſhed by the Spaniards, and acquainting them that they had killed ſome of his men on the land which the Creeks had by treaty conceeded to the Engliſh, they looked upon themſelves as injured in their right of hoſpitality, and ſent to demand juſtice from the governor of Auguſtine, who ill treated their meſſengers, and they then engaged in the war for the Engliſh.

WHEN the war broke out, there was in Georgia and Carolina but one regiment of regular troops, conſiſting of 600 men, commanded by General Oglethorpe; and the country to be then defended was of above 400 miles extent, upon the ſea coaſt. In Carolina there was a militia of about 3,000 men, and the armed people of Georgia were about 1,500; but there being above 40,000 negroe ſlaves in Carolina, it was looked upon that it would be a hard taſk to contain ſuch a number of negroes within their duty, in caſe of an invaſion from the Spaniards. Therefore General Oglethorpe thought that the moſt prudent way of defending ſuch a vaſt extent of country, was by attacking the Spaniards; and the majority of the aſſembly of Carolina, and the greateſt and moſt prudent part of the people were of the ſame opinion: for if that ſmall body of troops, were to be diſperſed to defend all parts of the country,

country, they would have been but a handful, easily subdued in each place; and the slaves of Carolina would have revolted if favoured by an invading enemy: but if they acted offensively, the slaves would not be able, nor think of stirring, when they saw their masters have power to invade their enemies; the Indians would join them, and the Spaniards be prevented from attacking, by being forced to defend. CHAP. V. 1740.

GENERAL OGLETHORPE, in January, acquainted the assembly, that if they could, by March following, join the regiments upon the river St Mathea, or St John's, with 600 white men, a troop of horse, a troop of rangers, and 600 negroes for pioneers, with a proper train of artillery and necessaries, as they had promised to do, there might be a probability of taking Augustine, at least a certainty of hindering the Spaniards from undertaking any thing against Carolina; provided the men of war would block up the port of Augustine from receiving succours by sea.

THERE still subsists amongst the Spaniards in America, a strong party for the house of Austria; some of these were men of quality of Mexico, and at this time officers in Augustine, sent thither because they were in disgrace; a command at that distance being, among them, in the nature of a banishment. General Oglethorpe had frequent intercourse with some of these principal officers, and had influenced them entirely to his interest; and at this time received intelligence, by some considerable people in the garrison of Augustine, of the state and condition of the town, which was then in want of provisions, and their half gallies were gone to Cuba

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to fetch men and provisions, so that the river of St Augustine was undefended.

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When General Oglethorpe imparted this material intelligence to the assembly of Carolina, they voted to support him with a sum of money equal to what was wanted; but delayed so long that the general was obliged to go up himself to Charles-Town, and hasten them in their resolutions.

Capt. Warren, since deservedly promoted to a superior rank in the British navy, with several other commanders of the men of war on the northern station, came also into the port of Charles-Town, to consult measures for the expedition; but the assembly, through their indolence and inactivity, delayed them so long, that the month of March was already past, before they had concluded any thing; and by the time they had passed their act, and before they would let Capt. Warren and General Oglethorpe set out, the man of war, who had been posted there till Capt. Warren's return, left the station off the bar of Augustine, and the half gallies got into the harbour, with succours of provisions and men from the Havanna; which was certainly the chief thing that contributed to the preservation of the place. Capt. Warren, not knowing of the arrival of the gallies, went and lay off the port of Augustine, in order to prevent their coming in; but in the dark of a calm night, six half gallies came out from Augustine, and attacked him, to his great surprize; notwithstanding the great superiority they had, by the weight of their cannon, which carried double the shot his guns did, the number of their men, and the advantage a calm gives to rowing vessels,

sels, Capt. Warren defended himself beyond all expectation or hope; and the wind, in the morning, springing up, he sunk one of the gallies, and drove the rest into the port. CHAP. V. 1740.

GENERAL OGLETHORPE set out from Charles-Town, greatly disgusted at the dilatory proceeding of the assembly, which was influenced by the Spanish party, and had confined him so long beyond the proper time for action. On his arrival in Georgia he immediately draughted 500 men out of his regiment, leaving the rest to take care of the coast, raised a company of 100 men from the highland part of the colony, two troops of rangers of 60 men each, and 100 boatmen from the other inhabitants; and crossing St John's river, with a party of his regiment, and some Indians headed by Molochi, son to Brim, late emperor of the Creeks, the Raven war king of the Cherokees, and Tooanahowi, nephew to king Tomo Chachi, landed in Florida on the 10th of May; expecting the arrival of the levies and pioneers, from Carolina. They not arriving, and the first thing necessary to be done, being the taking of the forts that kept open the communication of the Spaniards with the country; the general, impatient of losing time, after a march of thirty miles, invested and took Fort Diego, lying three leagues from Augustine, amongst meadows where there were great stocks of cattle, and commanded a pass upon the river Diego, half way between Augustine and the river St Mathea; after a very smart firing for some hours, the garrison, consisting of a captain and fifty-seven regular troops, besides Indians and negroes, surrendered prisoners of war, and delivered up the fort with eleven pieces of cannon. Soon after 400 men under Colonel Vander

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Vander Duſſen arrived from Carolina, but no horſe, rangers, nor negroe pioneers; about the ſame time arrived a body of Cherokee Indians. Capt. Dunbar alſo brought up a party of Chickaſaw Indians, and Capt. M'Intoſh with 100 of the Highland men, and the rangers from Georgia arrived about the ſame time.

In the mean while, Commodore Pierce in the Flamborough, with Capt. Warren in the Squirrel, Capt. Fanſhaw in the Tartar pink, and Capt. Townſend in the Phenix, of 20 guns, Sir Yelverton Peyton in the Hector of 40 guns, Capt. Laws in the Spence, and Capt. Dandridge in the Woolf ſloop, arrived off St Mathea, or St John's river; on whom General Oglethorpe had, with great difficulty, prevailed to come down and aſſiſt upon the expedition. The general went on board, and upon conſultation, they agreed to anchor off Auguſtine, and to attempt an entry into the harbour. The general immediately marched by land, and in three days arrived at Mooſa, a fort which the Spaniards had built for the deſerted negroes from Carolina, and given them ſome adjoining lands: he made a forced march with a ſmall detachment, by reaſon that he received private intelligence from his party amongſt the Spaniards, that he might have the town delivered to him; but the general inſiſted upon hoſtages from them, before he would riſque to ſend a party into the caſtle to take poſſeſſion of it; this they had agreed to, and appointed the place of meeting near to Coovo, in a wood, about a mile from Auguſtine, and two miles from Mooſa: the general went there with a ſelect party of men; having ſtayed till the time was long over, and no perſons appearing, he went perſonally to reconnoitre as far as the works

of

of Auguſtine, and found that the lines from Coovo to the town, were all full of troops, very alert; and finding the deſign diſappointed, but then not knowing how, he returned to his party, ordered the Drums to beat, that thoſe who had promiſed him might know that he had not failed on his ſide, and then marched back to Mooſa. Upon the breaking of the morning, the general ſaw that the men of war did not come into the harbour, and the proviſions which were to come up did not arrive, but an excuſe was made by the lieutenant colonel, who had charge to conduct them from fort Diego; upon which the general marched back to the head quarters at Diego, and ſent on board the men of war to know what had occaſioned the diſappointment of their not maſtering the harbour; when the commodore acquainted him, that there was a battery on the iſland of Anaſtaſia, which defended the entry, and deſired he would ſend a body of troops to land, under favour of the men of war, upon the iſland, and he would ſend the ſmall veſſels into the harbour, which was too ſhallow to admit of the men of war: upon which the general marched to the coaſt, and embarked with a party of 200 men, having before ſent the highlanders, rangers, and a party of Indians, under Colonel Palmer, with orders to lie in the woods near Auguſtine, and hinder their parties from coming out by land; but with poſitive orders, not to come to any general action, if they could avoid it; nor to lie two nights in the ſame place: he alſo poſted the Carolina new raiſed men, at point Cartel, which makes the mouth of the harbour over againſt the iſland of Anaſtaſia; and this he did, becauſe they were ſafe there, being divided from Auguſtine, and covered from any ſally that could

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could be made by the garriſon, by the river St. Diego, and marſhes then thought inacceſſible by the Spaniards. The general came up to the commodore, and having held a conſultation, Capt. Warren very generouſly offered to land with a party of ſeamen; and to prevent all difficulties of rank, the general gave him a commiſſion to command his lieutenant colonel.

THE Spaniards made a diſpoſition to defend the iſland; they had then about 1,100 men in the garriſon, out of which they could paſs over as many as they thought proper to the iſland; but there was not boats enough for the Engliſh to land above 500 men at once: notwithſtanding which, the general reſolved to carry the landing; and ſeeing the Spaniards very advantageouſly poſted behind the ſand hills, covered by the battery upon the iſland and the fire from the half gallies, who lay in ſhoal water where the men of war could not come; he ordered the heavy boats to ſtay, and ſeem as if they intended to land near them, whilſt he, with Capt. Warren and the pinnaces, rowed with all the ſpeed they could to the ſouthward for about two miles. The Spaniards ran behind the ſand hills to ſtrive to prevent them, but before they could come up in any order, the boats got near enough to the ſhore: the general, Capt. Warren, a party of Indians and ſeamen leaped into the water breaſt high, landed and took poſſeſſion of the ſand hills; the Spaniards being charged in diſorder, retired in the utmoſt confuſion to the battery; but being purſued, were drove out of the battery into the ſea, ſome ſheltering themſelves on board the half gallies, who retired under the caſtle of Auguſtine, and the Engliſh boats and ſmall craft entered the harbour.

BEING

BEING masters of Anastasia, it was found that the river which runs between that island and the castle, near which the town lies, was too wide to batter in breach; but the town was not fortified on the side of the water, the Spaniards strongly believing the island of Anastasia could not be taken from them, and expecting the attack to have been from the land side. It was then resolved to attempt to cross the river, and land upon the town; and what the general had said was now evidently proved, that if the attempt had been begun before the half gallies came from Cuba, they might with ease have landed upon that part of the town where there was no entrenchments; but now the half gallies were a floating battery in a wide ditch, so that there was no possibility of landing, without first taking or driving them away. Many consultations passed for this purpose, but none could take effect, though General Oglethorpe and Capt. Warren offered to attack them with the boats of the fleet. There was now little hopes but from famine; for the Spaniards who were in the Austrian interest and intended to deliver that place, had been suspected if not discovered; perhaps by the means of an officer afterwards punished in England. This was one great disappointment, but the half gallies and succours got in from Cuba was a much greater: thirty-six pieces of cannon, together with planks for batteries, and all other necessaries, and 400 pioneers were to have come from Carolina, but none of them arrived, only twelve pieces of cannon; which for want of planks for batteries, being obliged to fire upon the sand, soon broke their carriages to pieces, and could not be repaired. The Spaniards on the other side had surprized the party sent to watch

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watch them under Colonel Palmer, who had indiscreetly, and against orders, lodged themselves, and continued in the fort of Moosa, which the general had demolished purposely that no refuge should be taken in so weak a place. Besides, the intention of this detachment was for a scouting party, to prevent the Spaniards from driving cattle into the town, and to shun any engagement. At Moosa the Spaniards took several prisoners, insulted the bodies of the dead, and amongst the prisoners, took an Indian named Nicolausa, and delivered him over to the Yaeassee nation to burn him alive; on which General Oglethorpe sent a drum with a message to the governor from the Indian king of the Cherokees, acquainting him, that if he burnt Nicolausa he would burn a Spanish horseman whom he had taken prisoner; and the general mentioned, that as the governor was a gentleman and a man of honour, he was persuaded that he would put an end to the barbarous usage of that country; and from the generosity of a Spanish gentleman, expected he would prevent insults to the bodies of the dead, and cruelties to prisoners: and he rather wished it, least he should be forced, much against his inclination, to retaliations, which the governor must know he was very able to make, since his prisoners infinitely exceeded those of the Spaniards. Upon which the governor submitted not to hurt Nicolausa, though they pretended to charge him with desertion; the Indians on both sides were agreed to be treated as prisoners of war, and an end was put to their barbarous custom, of burning the unhappy wretches that unfortunately fell into their hands.

THE general continued bombarding the place, and coming over with the regular troops from Anastasia

Anaſtaſia to the land ſide, paſſed the Carolina militia from Cartel to Anaſtaſia, ſince they could be there protected by the ſeamen; and on the 23d of June it was agreed, that Capt. Warren, with the boats from the men of war, the two ſloops hired by General Oglethorpe, and the Carolina veſſels with their militia, ſhould attack the half gallies, and that upon a ſignal given, General Oglethorpe ſhould on the land ſide attack the trenches. This, though a very deſperate meaſure, was purſued; for the whole troops belonging to the Engliſh, including the ſeamen, were much inferior in number to the garriſon; and the town was covered on one ſide by a caſtle with four baſtions and fifty pieces of cannon, from whence they run an entrenchment, flanked with ſeveral ſaliant angles to fort Coovo, which lay upon the river St Sebaſtian; this entrenchment croſſed the neck of land from the river Anaſtaſia to that of St Sebaſtian, and entirely covered the town from the land. The general upon this, drew in all the ſtrength he poſſibly could, ſent for the garriſon he had left at Diego, and being joined by them and the Creek Indians, and having made a ſufficient number of faſcines, ſhort ladders, provided all other neceſſaries for attacking the entrenchments, and brought up thirty-ſix cohorns, he waited for the ſignal, but received notice that the commodore had reſolved to delay the attack. CHAP. V. 1740.

SICKNESS had ſpread among the troops, and was daily increaſing, the weather being ſo violently hot that the moſt hardy among the Indians were unable to ſupport it; and the Spaniards had made a ſally with 500 men on the land ſide, expecting to continue the ſucceſs they had gained

PART I. at Mooſa, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and only two of the Engliſh wounded.

1740. THE general received a meſſage from Commodore Peirce, that upon conſultation it was reſolved, "That it was too raſh an attempt to riſk the "boats and ſeamen, and therefore he had counter-"manded Capt. Warren; that many neceſſaries "were wanting in the fleet, and the ſeaſon of the "year was ſuch, that they could not ſtay longer on "that ſtation, and that the 5th of July was the "time they were firſt limited to leave the coaſt, "which, as it was near arrived, he thought "proper to acquaint the general, that the fleet "muſt ſoon leave the coaſt, and wiſhed that he "could do him any ſervice in the mean time." The general in vain attempted to alter this reſolution; but the ſickneſs and wants increaſing every day, juſtified it more and more; nay, the Carolina boats were continually going off, and even Captains of their levies privately left the ſervice, and went home with boats and numbers of men.

WHILST theſe things were doing, Capt. Warren being commanded by the commodore to leave the ſhore ſervice and go on board his ſhip, met with a number of Spaniſh veſſels from Cuba, bringing proviſions and men to Auguſtine, whom he engaged, run one of them aſhore and beat her to pieces, but the reſt getting into ſhoal water, made their way to Auguſtine, by ſome channels with which the Engliſh were then unacquainted. A party of the Creek Indians ſurprized one of the boats and brought off four priſoners to the general, who confeſſed that there was eleven veſſels and 700 men, with a great quantity of proviſions got into Auguſtine, that they belonged to one of them, and that there had been one more which was ſunk by an Engliſh man of war.

war. Upon this, all hopes of taking the place by famine ceaſed; the ſquadron ſailed, the Carolina troops marched away, and the general brought up the rear, being at that time ſo ill of a fever as to be carried by men: the garriſon making a ſally, were repulſed with loſs, and one of their officers of horſe taken priſoner. The general in his march back, demoliſhed Fort Diego, and nine other of the Spaniſh forts which were placed on proper paſſes to hinder the incurſions of the Creek Indians, whereby all the plantations were deſtroyed and laid open; ſo that the Spaniards never ſince could poſſeſs any thing out of the reach of the cannon of Auguſtine. The general gave liberty to the ſoldiers and Indians to drive off the cattle and horſes, who carried away 500 of their horſes, and ſeveral thouſands of their cattle.

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THUS was the general unfortunately diſappointed in accompliſhing ſo material a ſervice as the reduction of Auguſtine; which, in juſtice, ought to be principally attributed to the ſlow and negligent ſteps taken by the aſſembly of Carolina, who, inſtead of the 600 men, and other ſuccours promiſed to the general to be ready in March, ſent only 400, and thoſe chiefly too old or too young for the uſe of arms, who arrived at the camp too late to be attended with ſucceſs. In the year 1702, Colonel Moor, then governor of South Carolina, invaded Florida with a much greater force than that commanded by General Oglethorpe; and after he had inveſted Auguſtine for three months, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, becauſe the town had received a ſupply of proviſions, which rendered his ſcheme impracticable. But though General Oglethorpe was defeated in his principal aim, he ſucceeded in his other

PART I. 1740.

other views, which were to intimidate the Spaniards from invading Georgia or Carolina, and to give those provinces the seasonable and happy opportunity of enjoying their properties, free and undisturbed from the calamities and desolation of a proud, arrogant, and revengeful enemy; for the Spaniards, instead of making continual excursions, dreaded the abilities of so able a commander, and very gladly remained inactive and content with their own territories, until the year 1742, when they had collected an army, they imagined too powerful, to meet with the least opposition from the English, and were by their numbers encouraged to attempt an invasion on Georgia.

CHAPTER VI.

The Siege of CARTHAGENA.

AFTER the demolition of Chagre, the brave Admiral Vernon was left a considerable time in America without orders and supplies, and was obliged to remain in a state of inactivity till he could receive a necessary reinforcement. During this interval of action, the admiral, ever industrious to promote the interest and trade of his country, posted his cruizing ships in the most advantageous stations for intercepting the Spanish commerce, and attending the motions of the galleons

galleons and men of war at Carthagena. Having received information that an Avizo and two Dutch ſhips, richly laden with quickſilver and other Spaniſh effects, had ſailed from Cadiz with a vice roy of Mexico on board, bound for La Vera Cruz; the admiral, ſuppoſing they would probably paſs by the Havannah, on the 4th of June ordered the Worceſter and Falmouth to cruize off Cuba, for intercepting them, till the middle of July; who ſoon after arriving on their ſtation, diſcovered the Avizo and the two Dutch ſhips, and chaſing, came up with and took the Avizo; but the vice roy had juſt before, very fortunately for himſelf, got on board one of the Dutchmen and make his eſcape. Admiral Vernon had now a great deal of reaſon to ſuſpect the Spaniards were bringing a large fleet into the Weſt Indies from Cadiz and Ferrol; he therefore, on the 8th of June, got to ſea in the Burford, with the Windſor, Strafford, Hampton-Court, Greenwich, Succeſs, and Brig tender, to cruize in the way; for though he imagined the Spaniards would be greatly ſuperior to him in force and numbers, he was in hopes of meeting ſome of them ſeparated, and to procure intelligence of their intentions. After cruizing for ſome time off the high land of St Martha, and leaving Capt. Dent in the Hampton-Court, and Lieutenant Broderick in the Brig tender, to cruize in that ſtation to the 24th, on the 17th the admiral returned for Jamaica, where he arrived on the 21ſt, and from time to time continued his cruizes to watch the arrival of the expected Spaniſh ſquadrons, and to attend the motions of the galleons; and Commodore Brown having repreſented his ill ſtate of health to the admiral, on the 27th of

CHAP. VI. 1740.

June

PART I. June the Greenwich was ordered to carry him to England.

1740. On the 5th of September, the ſtoreſhips from England, under convoy of the Defiance and Tilbury men of war, arrived at Jamaica; and the admiral impatiently expecting the arrival of the fleet under Sir Chaloner Ogle, with the land forces, commanded by Lord Cathcart, and a body of troops from North America, in hopes of meeting them, on the 3d of October he ſailed from Port Royal in the Burford, attended by the Worceſter, Tilbury, Windſor, Defiance, Princeſs Louiſa, and Hampton-Court; Eleanor and Succeſs fire-ſhips, and Alderney bomb, on a cruize off the coaſt of Hiſpaniola: but on the 12th he received advice by a ſloop from Falmouth, bound to the bay of Honduras, that the weſterly winds had detained the fleet and tranſports with the ſoldiers at Spithead. This gave great inquietude to the admiral, he well knew the uncertainties and difficulties of getting ſo large a fleet of tranſports out of the channel in a latter part of the year; he deeply dreaded the conſequence; and heartily lamented that Lord Cathcart was not ſent out in the ſpring of the year, the only certain ſeaſon for eaſterly winds. It is certain, even beyond diſpute, Sir Chaloner Ogle and the land forces might have as well ſailed for the Weſt Indies in a much earlier and more convenient part of the year; but many diſappointments were thrown in the way, to retard the timely progreſs of an expedition that promiſed ſuch viſible appearances of a ſucceſsful event; eſpecially as it was to be conducted by ſo prudent and reſolute a commander as Admiral Vernon; and probably for this principal reaſon of the miniſtry, that as the war was begun without their concurrence, ſo it ſhould end

end without their assistance. And to back this disappointment, the admiral discovered the same day, upon examining a Spanish lieutenant, that the Ferrol squadron, under de Torres, arrived at Porto Rico on the 9th of September, and that they sailed from thence on the 25th for Carthagena. CHAP. VI. 1740.

THE admiral still continued his cruize, and on the 20th, off cape Donna Maria, was joined by eight sail of transport ships under convoy of the Wolf, having on board part of the North American forces from Virginia and Philadelphia, under Colonel Gooch; the same day the admiral proceeded with them to Jamaica, leaving the Windsor to cruize for the remainder of those forces expected under Colonel Blakeney; but on arriving at Port Royal, the admiral found they had got there before, being convoyed by Capt. Cusack: so that the whole body of troops from North America were now arrived, and consisted of three battalions. These troops had been little acquainted with discipline, and were sent with a view to assist in taking possession of some of the Spanish settlements, where they intended to reside.

THOUGH this was an augmentation of the British force, it was too inconsiderable for the admiral to attempt any extraordinary enterprize. His ships were over-masted, and the shrouds and rigging in a very bad condition; neither could he keep the sea for want of stores, and grew very impatient at losing the most proper part of the season for action. The arrival of Admiral de Torres at Carthagena, with so considerable a reinforcement for putting that town in a good posture of defence, and strengthening the Spanish provinces, together with so potent a fleet as the

PART I. 1740.

Spaniards then had in the American ſeas; and no certain advice when to expect the fleet and tranſports under Sir Chaloner Ogle, to oppoſe the return of the Spaniſh golden fleece, made ſo melancholy an impreſſion on the active Admiral Vernon, and ſo viſibly altered the ſcene of his affairs, that he hardly knew what reſolution to take moſt conducive for the advantage of his country; eſpecially as the Breſt and Toulon ſquadrons, under the Marquis d'Antin, had joined at Port Louis, and had brought down with them 1,800 men raiſed in Martinique, with ſome mention of further reinforcements expected. The Britiſh admiral apprehended by the marquis ſtationing himſelf to windward of Jamaica, and the French collecting all their forces there, that their views were calculated againſt that iſland, whenever the Britiſh fleet ſhould ſet out on any expedition againſt the Spaniſh territories: in this opinion the admiral was confirmed, by ſending Capt. Mayne to Leogane with a letter for his Excellency Monſieur Larnage, the French governor of Hiſpaniola; for the captain dined with the commandant in the governor's abſence, was well received, but had not the leaſt intimation that the ſquadron under the Marquis d'Antin was at Port Louis; and as the French covertly aſſiſted the Spaniards in every thing, added to the great ſecrecy they endeavoured to preſerve, this fixed the admiral in his opinion that their deſigns were againſt Jamaica.

ADMIRAL VERNON, with the greateſt ſhew of reaſon, made ſtrong and repeated complaints to the Britiſh miniſtry, of his inability to ſerve his king and country in that effectual manner he deſired; but as he could undertake nothing of moment, he detached ſuch part of his ſquadron

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as was fit for cruizing, to protect the British trade and destroy the Spanish privateers; in which they were very serviceable and successful. The admiral also communicated his thoughts to his Excellency Edward Trelawny, Esq; governor of Jamaica, of his apprehension of the designs of the French against that island; to frustrate which, he formed a disposition for securing his squadron and the harbour of Kingston, and having properly posted his fire-ships and disabled ships there, he made little doubt of defending it against the Spaniards and their auxiliaries, were they all there; but as to the harbour of Port Royal, the admiral had no opinion of its convenience to repel the superior force of an enemy.

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After an increase of impatience, Admiral Vernon at last received advice, that the fleet and forces under the command of Sir Chaloner Ogle and Lord Cathcart, arrived at Dominica on the 19th of December; where, on the next Day, a great loss happened to the service in the death of Lord Cathcart, occasioned by a bloody flux: he was taken ill on the 8th of December, and bore it, though very painful, with the greatest patience and resignation, seeming only to regret, that he was deprived of an opportunity of exerting his zeal and abilities for the service of his king and country. The death of this nobleman was a very sensible loss, as he went determined to co-operate with Admiral Vernon, and to be guided by him in every thing that should be judged for the honour and interest of the British arms. His lordship was a very able commander, with great spirit, honour and judgment, and had been formerly extremely commended by the illustrious Duke of Marlborough, as a good and gallant soldier; and as it is natural for one brave

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man to entertain an affection for another, his lordſhip was charmed with the ſpirit, good conduct, and diſintereſtedneſs with which Admiral Vernon had begun and continued the war, with whom he determined perfectly to maintain a good underſtanding; thereby promiſing to himſelf, that their conjunction would make them the glorious inſtruments of finiſhing the war, with all the advantages the nation had expected from ſo proſperous a beginning; and had heaven ſpared him to have completed his wiſhes in aſſiſting the admiral, what might not the nation have expected from the unanimity of ſuch able commanders?

UPON the death of Lord Cathcart, the military command devolved upon Brigadier-General Wentworth. Sir Chaloner Ogle purſued his voyage to Jamaica, and on the 27th of December arrived at St Chriſtopher's, the place of general rendezvous; where he was joined by the reſt of the fleet, and all the tranſports and ſtore-ſhips that had been ſeparated from him: at the ſame time he received advice from Admiral Vernon, that fifteen ſail of Spaniſh men of war were at Porto Bello, where the inhabitants were diligently repairing their ruined fortifications. On the 28th Sir Chaloner Ogle proceeded for Jamaica; and in his paſſage between Hiſpaniola and Jamaica, ſeeing four ſail, who proved to be French men of war, he diſpatched ſix of his ſquadron after them; four of them came up with the French off cape Tiberon before it was dark, and Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, who commanded in the Prince Frederick, hailing them, and the French refuſing either to ſend an officer on board the Engliſh to ſatisfy them who they were, or to lie by for the Engliſh officer's ſending on board of them,

as

as the certainty could not be otherwiſe known; a gun was fired to bring them too, on which an engagement enſued, which laſted till morning, when the French hoiſted their colours, and boats were ſent to clear up the point who they were, in which the Engliſh officers being ſatisfied, nothing more paſſed than reciprocal civilities, and they continued their different courſes. On the 9th of January Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived in Port Royal harbour with the whole fleet, and all the tranſports and ſtore-ſhips. This re-animated Admiral Vernon; he now found himſelf in a capacity of exerting his martial genius, he reſolved to remain no longer in a ſtate of inactivity, and ſoon after the bulwarks of Carthagena were doomed to feel the fury of the Britiſh thunder. CHAP. VI. 1741.

ADMIRAL VERNON heartily condoled the loſs of ſo valuable an officer as Lord Cathcart, but on his acquaintance with General Wentworth his ſucceſſor, the admiral promiſed to himſelf, on finding the general ſincerely diſpoſed to ſupply ſo great a loſs, that his Britannic majeſty's ſervice would be promoted and carried on faithfully, diligently, and reſolutely, with all poſſible harmony. And on communicating their inſtructions, the admiral and general reſolved to loſe no time in ſetting about the execution of them.

THE determination of what enterprizes ſhould be undertaken, was committed to the direction of the principal council of war, to conſiſt of the two eldeſt officers of the army, of the two eldeſt officers of the navy, and of the governor of Jamaica whenever he could be preſent; and on the 10th of January, in the principal council of war held at Spaniſh-Town, at which were preſent Admiral Vernon, Sir Chaloner Ogle, General Wentworth,

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worth, General Guise, and Governor Trelawny, it was unanimously resolved, "That the whole "fleet should proceed to windward, to observe "the motions of the squadron under the com- "mand of the Marquis d'Antin, which had "been for some time at Hispaniola; and that "Capt. Dandridge should be sent before in the "Wolf sloop to get intelligence."

As the fleet was now thirty sail of the line, there was an absolute necessity for forming a third division, and the vice admiral appointed Capt. Lestock, an old and experienced officer, to be commodore, with a Captain under him, for commanding the third division.

THE vice admiral, intent on getting the fleet to sea, was in a perpetual hurry in making preparations for so expedient a purpose, well knowing that any delay would certainly defeat their best intentions: he knew the great difficulty of watering so large a fleet in Port Royal harbour, and had previously provided against any interruption on that account; and considering what a sickly condition many of the ships came in, that four standing masts were obliged to be repaired, three damaged by shot, and one by lightning, of which two were under a necessity of being hove out and repaired ashore, and that all the ships were to be supplied with provisions, and many with stores, never greater dispatch was given for getting a fleet into the sea in any country; all the officers and men, in concurrence with the admiral, manifesting an universal good-will for the success of the expedition, for which all was in readiness in less than a fortnight.

As the fleet was so large, and the channel so dangerous in going out from Port Royal harbour, the admiral gave orders for the ships going

ing out only one diviſion in a day, forwarding thoſe that were to go firſt, as no time might be loſt. Capt. Douglaſs and Capt. Cleland, with two bomb-ketches, were to remain till the men of war had all ſailed out, and then to proceed with the tranſports, in three diviſions, that they might not crowd one another aſhore; the firſt rendezvous was ordered off the eaſt end, and by a ſealed rendezvous, the next off cape Tiberon, and the bays to the northward of it. CHAP. VI. 1741.

On the 22d of January, Sir Chaloner Ogle got out with his diviſion of ten ſail of the line; on the 24th Commodore Leſtock ſailed out with his diviſion of nine ſail of the line; the vice admiral remaining himſelf to the laſt, for giving the neceſſary orders: and on the 26th, the vice admiral ſailed out with his diviſion, conſiſting of eleven ſail of the line; but the winds proving faint that day, he was obliged to anchor with them in the channel; and the Auguſta, one of his diviſion, fell ſo far to leeward, as upon anchoring to veer upon a ſhoal aſtern of her, where ſhe beat off her rudder, and having had thumped ſo hard as to make her very leaky, the vice admiral ordered her into harbour to refit. The next day the wind continued ſo faint, that the vice admiral was obliged to anchor with his whole diviſion again, juſt without the channel; but on the 28th got clear to ſea without further damage to any, and joined the two diviſions under Sir Chaloner Ogle and Commodore Leſtock on the 30th off the Yellows, when the whole fleet conſiſted of the following diviſions:

LINE

PART I.

LINE OF BATTLE.

1741. The Princeſs Amelia to lead with the ſtarboard, and the Suffolk with the larboard tacks on board.

Rear Admiral of the Blue, Sir CHALONER OGLE.

Frigates, &c.	Rates	Ships	Commanders	Men	Guns
	3	Princeſs Amelia	Hemmington	600	80
	4	Windſor	Berkley	400	60
		York	Cotes	400	60
Experiment	3	Norfolk	Graves	600	80
Sheerneſs		Ruſſel	Sir Cha. Ogle	615	80
Veſuvius			Capt Norris		
Terrible Bomb		Shrewſbury	Townſend	600	80
Phaeton	4	Ripon	Jolley	400	60
Goodley		Litchfield	Cleland	300	50
		Jerſey	Laurence	400	60
		Tilbury	Long	400	60

Vice Admiral of the Blue, EDWARD VERNON, Eſq;

Squirrel	3	Orford	L. A. Fitzroy	480	70
Shoreham	4	Princeſs Louiſa	Stapylton	400	60
Eleanor		Worceſter	Perry Mayne	400	60
Seahorſe	3	Chicheſter	Robert Trevor	600	80
Strumbolo		Prs. Caroline	V. A. Vernon	620	80
Succeſs			Capt. Watſon		
Vulcan		Torbay	Gaſcoigne	600	80
Cumberland	4	Strafford	Tho. Trevor	400	60
Alderney Bomb		Weymouth	Knowles	400	60
Pompey		Deptford	Moſtyn	400	60
Brig Tender	3	Burford	Griffin	480	70

Commodore LESTOCK's Diviſion.

	4	Defiance	John Trevor	400	60
		Dunkirk	Cooper	400	60
Aſtrea		Lyon	Cotterel	400	60
Wolf Sloop	3	Pr. Frederick	Ld A. Beauclerc	480	70
Ætna		Boyne	Com. Leſtock	600	80
Firebrand			Capt. Colby		
Virgin Queen		Hampton C.	Dent	480	70
	4	Falmouth	Douglaſs	300	50
		Montagu	Chambers	400	60
	3	Suffolk	Davers	480	70

THE

THE fleet was now twenty-nine ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, manned with 15,000 ſailors; and having on board the two regiments of Harriſon and Wentworth, ſix regiments of marines, command by the Colonels Fleming, Robinſon, Lowther, Wynyard, Douglas and Moreton, of 1,000 men each, and ſome detachments from other regiments from England; three battalions from North America, and a body of negroes from Jamaica, making in all, upwards of 12,000 men. CHAP. VI. 1741.

HAVING a windward current, the whole fleet got off Cape Tiberon on the 8th of February, being then 115 ſail in company; and the ſame day the vice admiral was joined by Capt. Dandridge in the Wolf ſloop, whom he had ſent to look into Port Louis, and on his report of "Having ſeen there nineteen ſail of large "ſhips, one having a flag at the main-top-maſt "head, and another a broad pendant flying;" the vice admiral immediately made a ſignal for general and flag officers, and communicated to them the report he had received from Capt. Dandridge: whereupon it was reſolved to ſteer directly to the iſle of Vache, to obſerve the motions of the French, and to procure intelligence of their force and intentions. And this reſolution was the more prudent, being founded on an abſolute neceſſity, to be ſecured from an auxiliary power being left to command all the ſuccours and ſupplies of proviſions to the fleet, as well as being left maſters of the Britiſh trade; which, as there was the utmoſt reaſon to apprehend the French would attempt, the admiral determined either to deſtroy or ſecure their fleet from performing that danger they ſeemed to be meditating.

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In purſuance of this reſolution, the vice admiral made the beſt of his way to windward with the fleet; and, on the 12th, got to anchor with moſt of the men of war, and ſome of the tranſports under the iſle of Vache, about two leagues to the weſtward of Port Louis; the reſt being working up after him. But it was afterwards diſcovered, that Capt. Dandridge had been deceived in his view by the hazineſs of the weather, and that the ſhips in Port Louis were only merchantmen unrigged, excepting one frigate of forty guns, whoſe main-top-maſt head lying in a line with the white gable end of a houſe, occaſioned the miſtake about the flag.

However, to be certain beyond all diſpute, on the 15th Capt. Boſcawen and Capt. Knowles, were ſent by the vice admiral with a meſſage to the governor of Port Louis; the purport of which was, that the fleet was forced by ſtrong breezes into the bay, and that the admiral deſired leave to wood and water. They returned with a very polite anſwer, and brought an account of the Marquis d'Antin's being ſailed for Europe: ſoon after Capt. Rentone came into the fleet, and confirmed the report that the marquis had ſailed with his ſquadron for France on the 26th of January, being the time when the Britiſh fleet were in their way to Port Louis; and being collected together on that occaſion, without any cruizers out, was the reaſon why the marquis paſſed undiſcovered.

It was generally apprehended, that the French ſquadron was ſolely intended to aſſiſt the Spaniards in ſafely convoying home their treaſure; but it afterwards appeared, by the inſtructions that fell into the hands of Admiral Vernon, that the marquis was ordered, either jointly with the Spaniards

niards under Rodrigo de Torres, or ſeparately, to fall on the Britiſh fleet; and had Sir Chaloner Ogle unluckily been detained any longer, it is hardly to be doubted but they would jointly have attacked Jamaica, the favourite view they had at heart. CHAP. VI. 1741.

THIS ſudden retreat of the French greatly ſurprized the Britiſh admiral, as he could not tell what to attribute it to; whether for want of proviſions, or a deſire to return to Europe for ſome more favourable views there: but it ſoon after evidently appeared, the marquis was obliged to return for want of proviſions, as in his paſſage to Europe he loſt above 3,000 men, and the reſt that ſurvived were reduced each to three ounces of bread a day, and that half worms and dirt.

UPON this extraordinary occaſion, the principal council of war aſſembled on the 16th, when it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That the fleet, "after having taken in wood and water at Iros, "Tiberon, and Donna Maria bays, ſhould thence "proceed directly to Carthagena."

ON the 17th the fleet ſailed from the iſle of Vache, and the day following came to anchor in the abovementioned bays; where the ſeven following days they were employed in watering the ſhips: and detachments from the American regiments, and from the negroes, were daily ſent on ſhore to cut faſcines and picquets, which they could not ſo conveniently get where they were going, and might want on their firſt arrival.

ON the 23d Capt. Warren joined the fleet, and on the receipt of his intelligence, a general council of war was held the 24th, by the four principal military and naval officers, when it was reſolved, "Vigorouſly to attack Carthagena both "by land and ſea."

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On the 25th the vice admiral weighed with the whole fleet from Iros bay, being in all 124 sail; when the Weymouth, Experiment, and Spence sloop, were dispatched ahead over to Carthagena, to sound Punto Canoa bay, for the safer anchoring the fleet.

On the 4th of March, in the evening, Admiral Vernon anchored with the whole fleet in Playa Grande, to windward of the town of Carthagena, lying between that and point Canoa; and to harass the Spaniards, the vice admiral ordered his small frigates and fire-ships to get in shore and lie in a line, as if he intended a descent to windward of the town, which had its effect, in drawing forces that way, and setting them at work to intrench themselves.

The city of Carthagena is situate in the latitude of 10 deg. 26 m. North, and was begun to be built in the year 1532 by Peter de Heredia; but was finished by Georgio Robledo about eight years after the foundation was laid. It stands on the Spanish continent, to the east of the gulph of Darien, almost directly south of Jamaica, and 110 leagues N. E. of Panama. It gives title to a considerable government of the same name, and is reckoned a province of New Granada, or according to some writers, of New Andulasia, but by others is annexed to the Golden Castile. The situation of its port was found so convenient for the Spanish fleets, and such quantities of rich merchandize were brought down near to it, by the confluence of the great rivers of Santa Martha and the Magdalena, that the town encreased in wealth, number of people, stately edifices, and in a jurisdiction over five or six petty cities; till in the year 1585, it was sacked by the valour of a few English, under the command of Sir Francis Drake,

Drake. But before it was perfectly repaired, the city received a greater blow from five privateers, led on by a diſguſted Spaniard; who ſurprized the governor aſleep, ſeized a prodigious treaſure, and burnt the place to aſhes. Yet for all this the city raiſed its head again, numbered above 20,000 inhabitants, whereof 4,000 were Spaniards, the reſt Meſticoes and ſlaves; and improved daily in riches and magnificence, till taken by the French under Monſieur de Pointi in 1697, who got a booty of nine millions of money. The city ſoon after recovered itſelf by its flouriſhing trade, being the firſt place the galleons touch at outwardbound, and of late the general ſtation of the Spaniſh men of war in theſe parts; and when Admiral Vernon appeared before it, was the principal, beſt fortified, and moſt populous city in America. CHAP. VI. 1741.

THE governor of Carthagena was thoroughly ſenſible of the activity of the Britiſh admiral, and expecting nothing leſs than a ſiege, in conjunction with Don Blas de Lezo, who commanded the Spaniſh ſquadron then lying in the harbour of Carthagena, made all neceſſary preparations for the reception of the Britiſh fleet; omitting nothing to put the place in a good poſture of defence; which had a garriſon of 4,000 men, beſides negroes and Indians.

THOUGH the ſea waſhes the walls of Carthagena, the town is inacceſſible on that ſide on account of the ſurff; and De Pointi was convinced that the ſea upon all this coaſt is a natural invincible rampart, and that Carthagena is approachable only by the lake which makes the harbour. An eminent naval officer, who ſerved in the expedition as engineer to Admiral Vernon, has alſo reported, that nature has fortified the city againſt

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any attempt by ſea, the water ſhoaling near a league off, and the harbour being plentifully bounded with rocks; beſides the ſea is very ſeldom ſmooth, ſo that to land is at all times very difficult.

THE only entrance into the harbour is near a league to the weſt of the city, between two narrow peninſulas, one called the Tierra Bomba, which is neareſt the city, and the other called the Barradera. This paſſage called Boca Chica, or the little mouth, was defended on the Tierra Bomba, by a caſtle called St Louis, which was a regular ſquare, with four baſtions, ſtrong, well built, mounted with 82 guns and three mortars, and was capable of making a ſtout defence, if well gariſoned, and would have been much ſtronger if the glacis and counterſcarp had been finiſhed; and to this were added the forts of St Philip, mounted with ſeven guns, the fort of St Jago mounting fifteen guns, and a ſmall fort of four guns called Battery de Chamba, which ſerved as redoubts to the caſtle of Boca Chica. On the other ſide of the mouth of the harbour, was a faſcine battery of fifteen guns, called the Barradera; and in a ſmall bay on the back of that, another battery of four guns; and facing the entrance of the harbour, on a ſmall flat iſland, ſtood fort St Joſeph of twenty-one guns: from this fort to Boca Chica caſtle, a boom and cables were fixed acroſs, faſtened with three large anchors at each end; and juſt within the boom, four men of war were moored in a line, the Galicia, aboard which was the Spaniſh admiral, the Africa and St Carlos, each of 66 guns, and the St Philip of 70 guns, which ſpread ſo far over the extent of the mouth of the harbour, that there was not room for a ſhip to paſs ahead or aſtern of them; ſo that it was impoſſible for ſhipping to force an entrance into

into the harbour. Beyond this paſſage lies the great lake or harbour of Carthagena, ſeveral leagues in circumference, and land locked on all ſides; about midway to the town it grows narrower, and within about a league of the city, two iſthmus's, or points of land, jetting out form the leſſer harbour; near the northermoſt of theſe was the ſtrong fortreſs of Caſtillo Grand, about eight miles up the harbour, being a regular ſquare with four baſtions, ſtrong and well built, and defended to the land by a wet ditch and glacis proper, and one face towards the ſea, with a raveline and a double line of guns; and though there was but fifty-nine guns in the fort, there was room to mount ſixty-one. Oppoſite to this caſtle was a horſe-ſhoe battery of twelve guns, called Mancinilla: in the middle between theſe two forts, is a large ſhoal with not above two or three foot water in it; in each of theſe paſſages were ſhips ſunk acroſs, to prevent the Britiſh fleet from getting by. Near three miles further up the harbour, on two flat ſandy iſlands or keys, ſtands the city of Carthagena, and Himani its ſuburbs, which are both irregular figures, but well fortified to the land with ſtrong baſtions at proper diſtances, with lakes and moraſſes running round them; the city was defended with 160 guns, and the ſuburbs with 140, and the water at the head of the harbour ſhoal ſo far off, that ſhips cannot approach near enough to do any material execution with their guns, which adds much to the ſtrength of the place. South of the city, about a quarter of a mile from the gate of Himani, on an eminence about fifty or ſixty foot high, ſtands the caſtle of St Lazare, which is a ſquare of about fifty foot, with three demi baſtions, two guns in each face, one in each flank,

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and

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and three in each curtain; the place in itſelf is trifling, but its ſituation very advantageous, which overlooks all the town; though there is a brow of a hill about 400 yards from it that overlooks it as much, and entirely commands the fort.

THE ſame day as the Britiſh fleet arrived before Carthagena, Vice Admiral Vernon received intelligence, from his engineer Capt. Knowles, of the obſervations he had made purſuant to his directions, and alſo of what new works the Spaniards had been erecting near the entrance of the harbour: from this advice the vice admiral collected, that the moſt probable, as well as the moſt proper place to ſecure a deſcent in, was, in in the little bay under the command of the two forts St Philip and St Jago, where ſhips could come ſafely to an anchor in good ground, within leſs than a muſket ſhot of the ſhore, and might lie to batter and command thoſe two forts, without having occaſion to open the caſtle of Boca Chica; in which caſe, the fire of three eighty gun ſhips would be ſufficient for demoliſhing the forts commanding the bay, and ſecuring a ſafe landing for the troops under the fire of their guns, being a point of the utmoſt importance for promoting the ſucceſs of the expedition, as it was the very ſpot on which Monſieur de Pointi made his deſcent when he reduced Carthagena, and begun with taking Boca Chica: and as to the northward of the ſaid two forts on Terra Bomba, where the Spaniards had lately erected a faſcine battery of fifteen guns, there was found to be deep water enough to approach within muſket ſhot of the battery, but that the anchoring ground ſo near in was foul and ſtoney, and would cut the cables; and to anchor in clean ground would be hardly within point-blank cannon ſhot:

and

And it was also represented, that there was likewise a good little bay for a descent under Chamba battery. After procuring this information, designed for the better regulating his dispositions of attack, the vice admiral immediately dispatched Capt. Knowles away again to leeward with Capt. Laws, Capt. Cooper, and Capt. Rentone, to sound all without Terra Bomba and the entrance of the harbour, to know certainly how near the ships could be brought to the shore, and if they could find anchorage for their large fleet. General Wentworth in the mean time, accompanied by some of the principal land officers, went on board the Lyon to reconnoitre the Town, the coast adjoining, and the several forts. CHAP. VI. 1741.

THE vice admiral having informed and instructed Sir Chaloner Ogle, according to the intelligence he had received from Capt. Knowles, and having furnished him with pilots of the best abilities and experience he could procure, and relying on the judgment and resolution of the rear admiral for the execution of his orders, directed him "To procced with his whole division "of ships of the line of battle for demolishing "the said forts and batteries, and scouring all "the country between them, so as to secure a "descent for the forces in the most convenient "parts of it between fort St Philip and Chamba battery, which might divide the Spaniards, "the better to make a descent at both places "at once, and expose them the more to the fire "of the ships; he was also particularly directed, "not to suffer any imprudent or hasty firing "from the ships, and to endeavour to convince "the men that such folly only serves to embolden an enemy instead of discouraging

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" them. And the rear admiral was likewiſe, " in his orders in writing, to aſſign to each par- " ticular captain the poſt he was to take, and " the orders he was to execute; and alſo to " order his reſpective captains, to acquaint their " reſpective ſhips companies, that the whole of " all booty to be made by land, was graciouſly " granted by his Britannic majeſty to be diſ- " tributed among his ſea and land forces, as " ſhould be agreed on by a council of war of " ſea and land officers, which had accordingly " met and regulated the diſtribution thereof, " and had allotted a double ſhare to any non- " commiſſion or warrant officer or private man " that might happen to be wounded in the " ſervice; and the rear admiral was further di- " rected to aſſure of a further reward from the " vice admiral, out of his ſhare, all who ſhould " eminently diſtinguiſh themſelves by any ex- " traordinary actions of prudence and bravery, " beſides a ſecured advancement proportiona- " ble to their zeal and reſolution exerted on ſo " ſignal an occaſion, for the honour of the " crown and future proſperity of their coun- " try."

AFTER iſſuing theſe orders to Sir Chaloner Ogle, and alſo that part of them as related to the diviſion of the booty to Commodore Leſtock; the vice admiral aſſembled a general council of war, compoſed of the four principal officers of the army, and of the four principal officers of the navy, who having received and carefully weighed the reports of the general officers who had been reconnoitring the town, and the Captains Knowles and Cooper, unanimouſly reſolved, " That Sir Chaloner Ogle " ſhould the next morning fall down with his

" diviſio

" diviſion to the mouth of the harbour, and ſend CHAP.
" three eighty gun ſhips, the Norfolk, Shrewſ- VI.
" bury, and Ruſſel, to batter the forts of St
" Philip and St Jago, while the Princeſs Amelia 1741.
" fired againſt the Faſcine battery, and the
" Litchfield againſt the little battery of Cham-
" ba." The general afterwards aſſembled a council of war of land officers, when a diſpoſition was made for landing the troops, which was, the grenadiers to be firſt landed, and to be ſuſtained by a brigade, commanded by Brigadier Guiſe and Colonel Wolfe.

ON the 9th Sir Chaloner Ogle, having ſhifted his flag on board the Jerſey, accompanied with General Wentworth, moved forward with his diviſion for executing the attack againſt the forts and batteries on Terra Bomba; the vice admiral weighed and moved after him with his diviſion and all the tranſports, leaving Commodore Leſtock with his diviſion at anchor behind. The vice admiral embarked all the grenadiers in the fireſhips in ſhore, as if he propoſed landing there that morning, but ordered them to follow him in time, to be ready for landing that evening to leeward. The ſmall fort of Chamba fired a few guns, but was deſerted as ſoon as the ſhip poſted there could take her ſtation and begin to fire. At the Faſcine battery the Spaniards had not yet had time for getting any guns mounted, ſo there was no fire from thence; and at noon the Norfolk, Ruſſel and Shrewſbury, being judiciouſly anchored very cloſe under the forts of St Jago and St Philip, made ſo warm a fire, that in leſs than an hour they ſhattered them ſufficiently, and drove every Spaniard out of them, ſo as to enable the ſhips to make good a deſcent with 500 grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant

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without oppoſition, and then all the boats and great numbers of ſeamen were kept conſtantly employed in landing the artillery, ordnance ſtores, tents and baggage. After ſuch a favourable deſcent, this ſucceſs ſhould have been puſhed forward by the land forces with all poſſible vigour, as nothing could more intimidate the Spaniards, than for part of the troops immediately to have advanced and took poſt upon the upper grounds, to cover their motions and lay thoſe of the Spaniards open to them; and for the whole body to be advancing after them, as faſt as they could cut their way through the woods, to go acroſs to the inſide of the harbour, as the Spaniards fear of having their troops made priſoners in Boca Chica, would have greatly leſſened their numbers in the oppoſition; and of this General Wentworth, on the 11th, was apprized jointly by the vice admiral and Sir Chaloner Ogle, on their perceiving the ſlow progreſs of the engineers and lazineſs of the ſoldiers, which could not fail of giving them uneaſineſs, as they dreaded many fatal conſequences from delays. On the 12th the Ludlow-Caſtle got in to play on the caſtle of Boca Chica from a mortar ſhe had on board; on the 13th they began to play on the caſtle from a bomb battery on ſhore, erected between the forts St Philip and Jago; and on the 15th at noon they completed the landing of all the artillery and ordnance ſtores, and twelve twenty-four pounders lent out of the ſhips at the general's requeſt.

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THE troops, during the firſt three days they were aſhore, remained very inactive in forming their encampments, ſtanding expoſed to the violent heat of the ſun on a white burning ſand, and catching cold by the inclemency of the night dews,

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fulneſs and vivacity, the attendants of harmony and health. CHAP. VI.

THE vice admiral, perceiving the camp to be greatly annoyed by the faſcine battery on the Barradera ſide of the harbour, employed officers to reconnoitre it, and was forming a ſcheme to attack it, which was the more immediately put in execution on receiving a complaint from the brigadier general, of the army being much galled by the fire from that battery; for the vice admiral held a council of war on the 17th, when it was reſolved "To attack it with 300 ſailors, "and 200 ſoldiers detached from thoſe remain-"ing on board the fleet." Accordingly orders were given for all the boats of the ſquadron manned and armed to be ready at midnight, with all the barges and pinnaces of the fleet, to ſurprize the Barradera battery. The boats of each diviſion were put under the command of Capt. Watſon, with the captains Norris and Colby under him, and the ſailors when landed were to be commanded by Capt. Boſcawen, having under him captains Laws and Coates, and the ſoldiers were under the direction of Capt. Waſhington and Capt. Murray; but the wind blowing too hard at the time appointed, and all the ſucceeding day, the execution of the deſign was retarded till the 19th at night, when it was executed with wonderful reſolution and ſucceſs. About midnight the boats went away from their ſhips, and rowed pretty far to leeward to avoid being ſeen or diſcovered by the noiſe of their oars; they rowed about a mile to leeward of the Barradera battery, which conſiſted of fifteen twenty-four pounders, and landed in a ſmall ſandy bay, into which was a narrow channel between two reefs of rocks, and a battery of five guns on the ſtrand 1741.

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ſtrand facing the channel, unknown to every perſon in the boats. At their landing they fortunately pitched aſhore under the muzzles of theſe guns, which immediately began to fire on them; the ſailors were ſurprized at ſo unexpected a reception, but recollecting that their ſecurity was in their reſolution, they intrepidly ruſhed in at the embrazures, took poſſeſſion of the battery before the Spaniards could renew their fire, and ſecured the cannon with very inconſiderable damage to themſelves. This firing alarming the Spaniards at the larger battery, they turned three pieces of cannon on the platform, fired with grape ſhot ſo ſoon as the ſeamen advanced, which went over their heads and did them little prejudice; the ſailors inſtantly ruſhed on with great boldneſs and ſpirit, and after a ſmart, though ſhort reſiſtance, carried the battery, ſpiked up all the guns, tore up the platforms and burned them, together with the carriages, guard-houſes, and magazines, returning to their ſhips with ſix wounded priſoners, after ſuſtaining but a very inconſiderable loſs in the whole action; and for this gallant behaviour the vice admiral rewarded every common man with a dollar a piece. This ſucceſs was a great relief to the troops, as it freed them from the greateſt annoyance of their camp, and gave them an opportunity of working quietly on their grand battery, which the engineers had been very ſlowly erecting againſt the caſtle of Boca Chica. This battery was conſtructed in a wood, to prevent the garriſon in the caſtle from diſcovering it before it was completed; and though the engineers were aſſiſted with 500 ſeamen, 250 blacks, beſides as many pioneers as could be ſpared out of the army, they had been now upwards of a week in ſo negligent and tardy a dif-

a diſpoſition, that the battery was far from being in a condition to incommode the caſtle: this concerned the vice admiral, who expected the engineers would have ſeconded the ſucceſs on the Barradera ſide, by opening their battery againſt Boca Chica, which was punctually promiſed him, and he had reaſon to expect, this being the lateſt day appointed for it. CHAP. VI. 1741.

ON the 20th, as ſoon as it was day, the garriſon of Boca Chica began to fire warmly at the bomb battery, though without doing any particular damage; but, being ſenſible of the utility and advantageous ſituation of the Barradera battery, the Spaniards had been diligently repairing it, and on the 21ſt had built up ſome embrazures and mounted two guns, with which they again played on the bomb battery; but were ſoon ſilenced by the Ripon, ordered by the vice admiral to anchor as near as poſſible to it, and keep firing, to prevent any further working on the levelled battery.

THE vice admiral grew very uneaſy, both from the apprehenſions of the openneſs of the road the fleet lay expoſed to, and the foul ground that was daily cutting their cables; this, augmented by the ſlow proceedings of the engineers, and together with intercepted intelligence that Admiral de Torres was arrived at the Havanna, where the French ſquadron under Monſieur Rochefieulle was expected to join him, induced the vice admiral on the 21ſt to hold another council of war with the commanders of the fleet, when they came to a reſolution "To make a general attack upon all the forts and batteries, to be put "in execution as ſoon as the wind would permit "the ſhips to move to their proper ſtations." Commodore Leſtock was appointed to begin the

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attack with three eighty and three seventy gun ships, being the most that could be brought conveniently to batter clear of each other; and the commodore was to be supported by Sir Chaloner Ogle, with the additional fire of other ships, where-ever he could find there was room for it; for which purpose the vice admiral issued the necessary instructions.

THE grand battery of twenty guns being finished, after clearing the wood from before it, on the 22d, about seven in the morning, began to play very briskly on Boca Chica Castle, as did the bomb battery and thirty mortars and cohorns planted on the platform behind the cannon; which the Spaniards returned as briskly from the castle, the four ships in the mouth of the harbour, fort St Joseph, and some few guns from the Barradera; so that the work was warm on both sides.

ON the 23d, pursuant to the disposition of attack, Commodore Lestock in the Boyne, with the Prince Frederick, Hampton-Court, Suffolk and Tilbury, went in to batter Boca Chica castle, and the ships posted there; which were, the Galicia, the admiral's ship, San Carlos, Africa, and St Philip, all mounting upwards of sixty guns; their position being as advantageous as the most prudent commander could have formed, both for opposing any attempt that might be made by shipping on the entrance into the harbour, or to annoy any battery that could be raised ashore; and as they found no battery against them from shore, which was highly requisite, the Spanish ships failed not to play as briskly, and did much greater damage than the castle; but the Boyne, falling so far to leeward as to lie exposed to the whole fire of the Spanish ships and fort St Joseph,

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was much ſhattered and ordered off again that night; the reſt continued there: and the Princeſs Amelia, belonging to Sir Chaloner Ogle's diviſion, having fallen farther to leeward than was intended, lay fair to ſilence the new mounted guns on the faſcine battery, and did ſo accordingly; which was a great preſervative to the men playing the battery againſt the caſtle, and thoſe in the camp, as the ſhot from the faſcine battery went over the hill into the camp. The Prince Frederick and Hampton-Court, ſharing the fire that had been employed againſt the Boyne, were alſo much ſhattered by morning, when the vice admiral was obliged to call them off, after many men killed and wounded, and the former having loſt her commander, Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a brave and gallant officer, who would have been an honour to his noble family and his country, being of a ſedate as well as of a reſolute temper. The Suffolk and Tilbury, happening to anchor well to the northward, lay ſucceſsfully battering againſt the breach till evening, when every thing appearing fit for an aſſault, they were ordered to draw off. The army in the mean time began to look on the breach as acceſſible, but the general complaining they were galled by the Barradera battery, where the Spaniards had again mounted ſix guns, which would be able to annoy them in their attack; the vice admiral directed the Princeſs Amelia, Litchfield, and Shoreham, to go in and anchor as nigh it as poſſible; and about noon ſent the boats of the fleet again, manned and armed, to demoliſh the faſcine battery; the men when landed were commanded by Capt. Watſon, having under him the Captains Cotes and Dennis, and thoſe remaining in the boats commanded by Capt. Cleland and Capt. Broderick;

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rick; who, having time and day-light for it, effectually performed their buſineſs, without any oppoſition: for ſo ſoon as the Spaniards ſaw the boats coming to land, and the ſhips anchoring cloſe to the battery, they deſerted it: but the Captains Watſon and Cotes marched into it, ſpiked up the guns, and entirely deſtroyed the battery. The ſeamen afterwards drew ſome of their boats over a neck of land, and boarded and burnt a ſloop that lay there to ſupply the battery with ammunition.

THE greateſt part of the guns in Boca Chica caſtle being now diſmounted, General Wentworth went in the night of the 24th to reconnoitre the breach; and judging it ſurmountable, reſolved to aſſault it by ſtorm the next evening, an hour before night: he came off in the morning and acquainted the vice admiral of his deſign, who immediately made the ſignal for his boats again, and ſent them in to make a favourable diverſion, under the chief command of his engineer Capt. Knowles; who landed at the faſcine battery, and drew up his men before the time of the forces marching to attack the caſtle, which contributed to throw the Spaniards into ſome confuſion. General Wentworth, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, about half an hour after five, ordered the troops to move forward to aſſault the breach. The forlorn-hope conſiſted of a ſerjeant and twelve grenadiers, who were immediately followed by thirty volunteers; next marched 260 grenadiers, the whole then remaining, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel M'Loud, and afterwards Colonel Daniel at the head of a detachment of 500 men, who had under his direction ſome ſmall parties, carrying ſcaling-ladders, pick-axes and ſpades,

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to be in readineſs in caſe of neceſſity: the whole was ſuſtained by 500 men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane; and Brigadier Blakeney, the brigadier of the day, had the direction of the attack. Upon a ſignal, which was, the firing of three bombs from the mortar battery, a volley of round ſhot was poured in upon the breach from the great gun battery, and was immediately followed by a ſecond of grape ſhot; which obliging the centinels upon the walls to put themſelves under cover, probably occaſioned their not having perceived the troops, when they firſt began to move to the attack: but ſome time before they reached the foot of the walls, the drums in the fort beat to arms, the top of the breach was manned, the ſhips began to fire with grape ſhot, and ſeveral ſhots were made from fort St Joſeph, though without doing any other execution, than the killing of one man. The commandant of the fort being at that time on board one of the ſhips, the garriſon fell into confuſion, and fled with precipitation out of the gates as ſoon as the grenadiers began to mount the breach. Don Blas, the Spaniſh admiral, was at this time on board the Gallicia, and together with the officers and crews of all his ſhips, were in the utmoſt conſternation at ſuch a ſudden and unexpected ſucceſsful event. Each ſhip was ſcuttled ready for ſinking, and had a large ſquare plug in the hole; the Africa and St Carlos were ſunk, but the plug being not readily got out of the St Philip ſhe was ſet on fire, while the Spaniards in the greateſt hurry betook themſelves to their boats, and that with ſo much confuſion, that the crew of the Galicia, having left their captain and ſixty men aboard, were afraid to return and carry them off, ſo that they were pre-

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vented from their intention of sinking her, as there was no possibility of escaping. Capt. Knowles finding what consternation the Spaniards were in, resolved to row the boats close under the lee shore, and storm St Joseph's fort from the boats; which he did accordingly, and took possession of it about ten o'clock at night, with little resistance; the Spaniards, after firing a few guns, having abandoned it, leaving only one drunken man behind; who was to have blown it up. Capt. Cotes was left to command the fort, while Capt. Knowles and Capt. Watson, being within the boom, rowed with the boats up to the Gallicia, boarded her, and took the captain, a captain of marines, an ensign, and sixty men prisoners, and secured the Spanish admiral's flag and colours, both of which they found flying. After leaving some officers and men on board the Gallicia, the boats went to work on cutting the boom, and moving the Gallicia out of the channel, to make all clear for entering the harbour on the next day.

THE British forces were now entire masters of Boca Chica, which had it been defended equal to its strength, and excellent disposition both of the ships and batteries, it would have been a much harder task, for the fleet and army both, to have got the possession of so strong a fortress: for the channel was as narrow and difficult of access as can be well apprehended, defended with above 200 pieces of cannon from forts, batteries and ships, that lay all to play upon any ship coming within the compass of a mile round; which was a convincing proof, that though the Spanish admiral knew very well how to make a good disposition, he was incapable of knowing how to make the best defence with it afterwards.

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THE Britiſh troops, from the time of their encampment to the taking of Boca Chica caſtle, loſt about 400 men by ſickneſs and the fire from the Spaniards; and amongſt thoſe that were killed in the camp were Colonel Douglas, Colonel Watſon of the train, Lieutenant-Colonel Sandford, and Capt. Moor, the chief engineer. CHAP. VI. 1741.

THE next day after taking the caſtle, being the 16th, the vice admiral haſtened into the harbour, to make proper diſpoſitions and give all neceſſary orders; but he had great difficulty to get in, as the San Carlos and Africa were ſunk in the channel, and the St Philip continued burning on the lee ſhore; ſo that the vice admiral was above three hours warping through, after anchoring in the narrows, before he could get to ſail up the harbour, which he did about two leagues the ſame evening; as alſo did the Burford and Orford, who the next day were ordered to advance for poſting themſelves acroſs the harbour as near as they could, juſt without gun-ſhot of Caſtillo Grande, for cutting the Spaniards off from all communication by water. On the ſame day the Worceſter got up to the vice admiral, who ſent her to anchor cloſe to a wharf where there was a good crane and a ſpring of water, which he thought neceſſary to ſecure for the ſervice of the fleet; the Weymouth and Cruizer ſloop getting in the ſame afternoon, were ordered to deſtroy the batteries at Paſſo Cavallos, a creek that parts the Grand Baru from the main, through which the ſupplies of proviſions from Tolu and Sina were to paſs, and where the Spaniards had erected two ſmall batteries, one of eight the other of four guns, which were demoliſhed by the Weymouth and Cruizer; on which the latter went up the creek, and brought away four

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four large Sina hulks, being veſſels dug out of a ſolid tree big enough to carry twenty ton, which were very ſerviceable in watering the fleet. In the mean time the vice and rear admirals two diviſions, and part of the tranſports, continued to ſail and warp in as faſt as conveniently they could, but were greatly retarded by blowing weather, which having forced all the ſmall ſhips to take ſhelter in the mouth of the harbour, they ſo choaked it up as to prevent the men of war making the deſired diſpatch, having anchored foul of one another; but being all got in on the 30th, the fire-ſhips and frigates were diſpoſed round the harbour to guard every paſs and creek, in order to cut off any ſupplies going to the town; while Commodore Leſtock with his diviſion was left at Boca Chica, with orders to re-imbark the forces and cannon as ſoon as poſſible.

THE Spaniards ſeeing the vice admiral and ſeveral ſhips had got into the harbour, began to expect a viſit at Caſtillo Grande; and as Mancinilla fort lay oppoſite to it, within gun ſhot, and was incapable of making any great defence, they thought proper to deſtroy it, leſt the Britiſh forces ſhould take poſſeſſion of it, and ſo batter the caſtle.

BETWEEN this fort and Caſtillo Grande, is a large channel that goes up into the Surgidero, another harbour or large baſon before the town; in the middle of the channel is a ſhoal that divides it into two channels, and in order to ſtop the fleet, the Spaniards had moored and ſunk ſeven of their galleons and other ſhips on each ſide the ſhoal, acroſs the mouth of the upper harbour above Caſtillo Grande; and in the channel next the caſtle, had moored their two remaining men of war, the Conquiſtador of ſixty-ſix guns,

guns, and the Dragon of ſixty, and untiled their houſes in the caſtle as if intending to defend it. CHAP. VI.

On the 30th Vice Admiral Vernon held a general council of war, of naval officers, when it was reſolved, "To uſe all poſſible expedition "to cut off the communication of the town on "the land ſide, and to make a deſcent at the "moſt convenient place neareſt the town." Immediately after Sir Chaloner Ogle, and ſeveral ſhips, turned up the harbour, and anchored at a ſmall diſtance from Caſtillo Grande, where the Spaniards made a ſhew of preparing to receive them; but Capt. Knowles, being ſent in the evening to reconnoitre them, obſerved they were buſy in moving about with thirteen launches, and the next morning diſcovered that they had ſunk the Conquiſtador and Dragon, and were removing things out of Caſtillo Grande: Capt. Knowles immediately acquainted Sir Chaloner Ogle of it, who inſtantly ordered him to weigh anchor, and run in with his ſhip and fire on the caſtle, to ſee if they would return it; which he did, and the caſtle making no return, he ſent his boats aſhore, who rowed directly up to the caſtle and took poſſeſſion of it without oppoſition. Though this caſtle mounted fifty-nine guns, and was capable of making a good defence; yet the Spaniards, the day before, perceiving the rear admiral's boats were ſounding, and well knowing his ſhips could lay their broadſides within piſtol ſhot of the caſtle, they thought proper to abandon it, having ſlightly ſpiked up the guns without diſmounting them or knocking off the trunions, and thrown their powder into a ciſtern of water; but moſt of the guns were got clear again, and Capt. Knowles ap- 1741.

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pointed governor of the caſtle, with a garriſon of 100 regular troops and fifty ſeamen. This was a moſt advantageous acquiſition to ſhorten the proceedings of the army, on their re-imbarking to re-land nearer the town, which they could now do within a league of it, but without being maſters of Caſtillo Grande, they muſt have landed at the diſtance of three leagues from the town; ſo that St Lazar was the only remaining fort, the reduction of which was to be next undertaken, as it covers the ſouth ſide of Carthagena and commands all the avenues, and was abſolutely neceſſary to be in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh troops before they could advance a ſtep to lay ſiege to the town.

THE vice admiral, intending to get the bomb-ketches in to play upon the town, on the 1ſt of April in the morning got to an anchor with his own ſhip cloſe to Caſtillo Grande, and ſet ſome of his ſhips at work to try to heave the maſts out of the Spaniſh ſhips, to make a channel over thoſe ſunk in deepeſt water, as he might get the ſquadron in and ſecure a ſafe deſcent to the army under the fire of their guns as near the town as poſſible; and in the evening, by the induſtry of the gallant ſailors, a channel was made through the ſunk wrecks, and two bomb-ketches got in, with two frigates to cover them, commanded by Capt. Rentone and Capt. Broderick. In the mean while Commodore Leſtock had completed the re-imbarkation of the land forces, artillery and baggage, who ſoon after got up the harbour. By ten the next morning the bomb-ketches began to play upon the town, and ſome of the guns that were cleared at Caſtillo Grande fired on a French ſhip that lay up at the head of the harbour, and had been uſed as an hoſpital ſhip for the Spaniards, who ſet fire to her,

her, and she burned the greatest part of the day; and the same evening another channel having been made through the wrecks to the eastward of the shoal, in the mouth of the harbour, three fire-ships got through that channel, and were posted to cover the descent of the land forces at Texar de Gracias; who kept firing on the Spaniards where-ever they saw them endeavouring to intrench themselves. On the 3d the Weymouth got through the western channel, when the town began to fire on her without doing any material damage; and the next night she passed round the shoal to the eastern part of the harbour. The Cruizer got in at the other channel the 4th in the evening; and great part of the transports with the troops, being now come up the harbour, the Weymouth, the three fireships and the Cruizer sloop, being ordered to cover the landing of the forces, warped over the other side of the harbour undiscovered by the Spaniards, and were so prudently posted, by the vice admiral, round the eastern part of the harbour, that their fire scoured the country all round, and drove about a hundred of the Spaniards from a breast-work at the upper end of the harbour; and the Weymouth's guns, firing briskly all night with grape shot, scoured the country between that and St Lazar, by which means a secure descent was procured for the army; whose officers had resolved, in a council of war, "To land the troops the next morning at "break of day, and to possess the port of La "Quinta, for cutting off the communication of "the city with the country, for covering the "landing of the artillery, and to clear ground "for the encampment." Accordingly the first division, amounting to about 1,400 men, under

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great alacrity, and having, with very little loſs, received two fires from the Spaniards, the front platoon gave their fire at about the diſtance of half-muſket ſhot, and immediately wheeled to the right and left to make room for the next to advance; whence the Spaniards judging that the whole body gave way, expreſſed their joy by a loud huzza; but being ſoon convinced of their miſtake, by the fire of the following platoons, they fell into diſorder, and precipitately fled towards the city: on which the general immediately poſſeſſed himſelf of a convenient piece of ground for forming the camp a ſmall mile from the caſtle of St Lazar; and in the evening ſent a party up to take poſſeſſion of La Popa, which the Spaniards had abandoned. As the hill on which this convent is ſituated overlooks the town and country for many leagues round about, it was a moſt advantageous part for obſerving the motions of the Spaniards, from whence the general, accompanied by Brigadier Guiſe and the principal engineer, reconnoitred the city; and having at his return aſſembled a council of war, it was debated, whether the fort of Lazar ſhould not be attacked the following night, before the Spaniards ſhould have finiſhed ſome works from the hill which they were then carrying on with the utmoſt diligence; but as no ſtores were then landed from the the ordnance ſhips, it was thought neceſſary to poſtpone the attack. Perhaps this was both an unfortunate and imprudent reſolution, for the Spaniards had but lately experienced the boldneſs and courage of the Britiſh troops when they confuſedly fled before them at La Quinta; the generality of them were poſſeſſed with all the horrors of an approaching enemy, whom they knew

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knew undauntedly intrepid; and as they were now hurrying in fear and confusion, it was a very favourable criterion for the British troops to have assaulted them, thus, in the very heighth of their panic; and had the golden opportunity been seized, it is highly to be conjectured the Spaniards would not have dared to have defended themselves, but that Lazar would have fell like Boca Chica, and the Spaniards been obliged to seek protection within their walls, where there was the highest probability of their surrendering the town as they had formerly done under the like circumstances to De Pointi.

ON the sixth the remainder of the eight regiments came on shore, so that before noon the whole body of troops were landed with such security, as not to have one single musket-shot fired at them; while all possible dispatch was made in landing the artillery, ammunition, baggage, provisions and military stores. But the troops were obliged to lie three nights upon their arms, for the want of tents; and as they were not seasonably provided with tools to build them, they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather; unsheltered from the fervid heat of the scorching sun, and the intemperature of the chilling night dews, which enfeebled the men, and spread a contagious distemper throughout the whole camp.

THE same sort of indolence reigned here, with the same prevalence, as at the camp before Boca Chica; the engineers having erected a battery only for three mortars, and thrown up a small breast-work for the advanced guards. While the garrison in Lazar, perceiving how slowly they took occasion to improve their time in the camp, set to work with unwearied diligence,

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and though when the army landed, the works round fort Lazar were very inſignificant, except a faſcine battery of five guns on the north ſide of the hill, which was built the year before when Admiral Vernon bombarded the town, and was of no ſervice but in caſe of approaches at ſea; yet the Spaniards in three days time completed a four gun battery, and entrenched themſelves in lines round about the foot of the caſtle, which were ſtronger and of much more importance than the caſtle itſelf; they alſo drew the guns off the faſcine battery on the north point, and mounting them in this new battery, frequently fired in the camp, whilſt the army were working on the bomb battery and lodgments for the advanced guards.

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SICKNESS increaſing in the camp, and the rainy ſeaſon approaching, Admiral Vernon, from the ſlowneſs of the army, was in great deſpondency of ſeeing the ſucceſs of the fleet continued by the army; he knew the Spaniards could not ſtand a vigorous aſſault, but being convinced they were infinitely better provided with engineers than the army, he in conjunction with Sir Chaloner Ogle, ſtrongly recommended to the general to make a vigorous puſh, as he would thereby intimidate the Spaniards, obtain a great preſervation to his decaying men, and bring matters to a ſpeedy iſſue: and to give the general all aſſiſtance in his power, the vice admiral ſupplied his deficiency of men, with a detachment of Lord James Cavendiſh and Colonel Bland's regiments, that had remained aboard the ſhips as part of their complement, and a body of ſuch Americans as were fit for ſervice, which, together with the negroes, augmented the army to about 5,000 men. Care was taken

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by the fleet effectually to prevent any ſupplies, and deprive the Spaniards from any communication at ſea; and the Weymouth continuing poſted within piſtol ſhot of the ſhore, kept ſcouring the country to ſecure the camp from any attack; and the mortars from the ketches played both on the fort and the town: but the general could not be prevailed on to cut off the communication between the town and country, by which negligence the Spaniards had uninterrupted opportunities of bringing whole herds of cattle into the town, and, at their leiſure, to reinforce and ſupply the garriſon of Lazar.

UPON receiving the reinforcement from the ſhips, on the 8th in the afternoon, a council of war was held by the general and field officers, wherein it was reſolved by the majority of the council, "To attack the caſtle and trenches of St "Lazar, without waiting for the raiſing of a "battery to make a breach;" which the chief engineer had reported, required ſo large a number of men, and ſo much time to cut through the woods, as in their circumſtances rendered it impracticable; and eſpecially as the Spaniards were daily throwing up new works, the council thought there was no other choice left, but either to make a bold puſh for the ſurprizing fort Lazar, or to return on board; and therefore determined, but too late, on the aſſault, though two of the general officers diſſented from this reſolution, as judging it too raſh an undertaking without firſt making a proper breach, or at leaſt before the place had been well reconnoitred. The neceſſary things for the attack could not be got in readineſs till night, and the next morning 1,200 men, under the command of Brigadier-General Guiſe, paraded on the ſtrand,

ſtrand, where having formed, they advanced towards the fort, conducted by three deſerters; and a little before day began to mount the hill. They begun the attack in two places, but the diviſion which was to have gone up an open acceſſible road which lay upon the right of the fort, was in the dark by a fatal miſtake led up the center, where the aſcent was very ſteep and the ground broken: ſome of the moſt forward gained the top and puſhed on to the entrenchments, but not being immediately ſuſtained, by reaſon of the great difficulty found in mounting the hill, they were moſt of them killed or wounded. Colonel Grant very gallantly aſcended the hill on the left, but having immediately received a mortal wound, and the guide with ſeveral others being killed, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamon, the next in command, advanced no further, but continued on the ſide of the hill till they were ordered to retire.

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THIS detachment being the flower of the army, were almoſt all cut off, and their colonel ſhot through the body; the reſt of the troops perceiving the diſmal ſlaughter of their braveſt men, and their officers ſeeing they had formed their diſpoſition on an inacceſſible part of the hill, halted at the foot of it, and remained in a great deal of irregularity; for inſtead of ruſhing ſword in hand among the Spaniards in the trenches, a full ſtop was made, the men ſtood firing in platoons, and not one of the officers attempted to lead them on; thoſe that had room and could wheel off for others, did, but the greateſt part ſtood and fired all their ammunition away; while the Spaniards pouring in from the town, it being open day-light, played ſo exceedingly briſk upon them with grape ſhot from their cannon, muſ-

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ketry and grenadoes, that they made a moſt lamentable havoc amongſt the beſiegers; who notwithſtanding faced them like lions, and had they been led on, or told what they were to have done, the place in all probability muſt have ſurrendered to their bravery: but after pitching upon a wrong place, and fruitleſsly expoſing the men for a ſacrifice to the Spaniards, between ſix and ſeven the Britiſh troops were ordered to retreat; and to cover them, a reſerve of 500 men was directed to advance, by which means they retired without any further loſs, and carried off great part of the wounded men; having upwards of 600 men killed or wounded in this unfortunate and fatal attack, and amongſt the ſlain were Colonel Grant, Lieutenant-Colonel Thompſon, three captains and four lieutenants.

AFTER the miſcarriage of this attack, all hopes of poſſeſſing the town were entirely vaniſhed; the troops ſickened ſo ſurprizingly faſt, that near 500 were either dead or in a very feeble condition by the 13th, and amongſt the ſick were almoſt all the principal officers: upon which the general called a council of war, to whom it appeared, that the troops were ſo far from being in a condition to offend the Spaniards, that they had ſcarcely duty-men ſufficient for the ordinary guards of the camp, and many of them in a very languiſhing condition; beſides which they were threatned with the want of water, all the ciſterns from whence the camp had been ſupplied, being near exhauſted: in conſequence of which, it was reſolved on the 15th, in a general council of war, compoſed of ſea and land officers, "To have "the cannon and forces re-imbarked with all "convenient ſpeed." Every thing being got ready on the 16th, the boats were ordered a-

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ſhore about nine o'clock at night, and effected the re-imbarkation under cover of the ſhips, with the ſame diſpoſition that gave ſecurity to their landing, without having a muſket ſhot fired at them. The number of troops on their landing amounted to about 5,000, and were ſo far reduced by the Spaniards and ſickneſs, that no more than 3,200 returned to the ſhips; and 1,200 of thoſe were Americans, not eſteemed fit for ſervice; and great numbers of the others feeble, and ſcarcely fit for the ordinary duty. CHAP. VI. 1741.

THE Spaniſh admiral's ſhip the Gallicia, was got up to Caſtillo Grande on the 8th, and Vice Admiral Vernon, intending her for a battery againſt the town, ſent ſixty carpenters on board to fit her up, for ſecuring the men as well as he could from the general fire ſhe muſt neceſſarily be expoſed to. On the 15th at night ſhe was completed, and poſted, under the command of Capt. Hore, as near the walls of the town as poſſible, anchors having been dropped for that purpoſe in as ſhoal water as the boats could float them; but the ſhoalings from the town ran too far off for any effectual ſervice: no ſhip could be nearer placed, nor could any re be more regularly and cloſely plied from a ſhip, than was performed by the officers and ſailors on board of her, who ſtood the fire from three baſtions, a half moon and a ravelin, from five in the morning till near twelve at noon, and never flagged in their fire: but as the vice admiral ſaw ſhe could do no material ſervice againſt ſtone walls at that diſtance, he ſent orders to Capt. Hore, to cut and drive before the ſea breeze broadſide to the Spaniards, as ſoon as the breeze was ſtrong enough; which was not till near twelve, when they kept driving broadſide, and continued their

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fire till they drove aſhore on the ſhoal, where ſhe ſoon filled with water, having twenty-two ſhot between wind and water, and would ſoon have foundered at her anchors, if the vice admiral had not ordered her off. The vice admiral through his former experience, and by trying this experiment with the Gallicia, had ſufficient room to form ſome general maxims upon; which were, in his judgment, "That no ſhips ſhould "ever be brought to batter againſt ſtone walls, "unleſs the commanders are firſt aſſured they "can place their ſhips within muſket ſhot of "them:" and could the Britiſh fleet have approached as near to Carthagena, it muſt have been inevitably ſurrendered; and that they could not, was evidently manifeſted by the ſtation of the Gallicia, who was unable to come near enough to batter the walls; on which ſhe was ordered to fire over them into the town, where by her cannonading the houſes were greatly ſhattered. The ſhells from the bomb-ketches alſo damaged many of the houſes and ſome of the churches, particularly on the 13th at night, one of the carcaſſes falling into the great church, where was the principal magazine of powder, ſet fire to the timber and plank that covered it, and had like to have been a very fatal incident to the Spaniards; but on ringing the alarm bell, the whole town went to work, threw ſand upon it, and ſtifled the fire, which once more broke out anew, but was afterwards totally extinguiſhed.

THE ſea officers and ſailors having been employed in getting out the maſts, anchors and cables from ſome of the ſunk Spaniſh ſhips, the fleet was ſoon in a condition for proceeding to ſea again: and on the 23d and 24th it was reſolved by the general council of war, "To return to "Jamaica,

" Jamaica, on account of the general ſickneſs " in the army." Under the direction of Capt. Knowles the entire demolition of Caſtillo Grande was completed the 25th, which took up the more time from the great thickneſs of the walls and ſtrength of the cement, but was entirely demoliſhed at laſt, and the fifty-nine pieces of ordnance in it rendered unſerviceable, by ſpiking them up and knocking off the trunnions. The 27th in the evening, the vice admiral weighed from Caſtillo Grande, to fall down to the lower parts of the harbour, to be at hand for giving the neceſſary orders for facilitating the diſpatch of the tranſports and ſtore-ſhips to ſea, and getting the remaining fortreſſes completely demoliſhed; leaving the Norfolk, Burford, Windſor, and Princeſs Louiſa, all under the command of Capt. Graves, at Caſtillo Grande, till the tranſports and ſtore-ſhips were got out to ſea, and for keeping the Spaniards from any communication with Terra Bomba, where the Britiſh ſailors were at work, and from whence they had their ſupplies of water, and to remain on that ſervice till further orders: Sir Chaloner Ogle was alſo left poſted in the middle of the harbour for receiving their daily report, and to give any other orders he ſhould judge neceſſary. The ſame day ſixteen ſail of tranſports, by warping and towing got out, and proceeded to ſea under convoy of the Lion, Capt. Cottrell; the 29th the Montague got to ſea with the ſecond diviſion of tranſports and ſtore-ſhips, being about thirty-four ſail; and the 30th the Weymouth proceeded with another diviſion of about the ſame number; as did the Torbay with General Wentworth on board, who was deſirous of getting to Jamaica before the arrival of the troops, to give the neceſſary orders

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orders for their accommodation; and on the 2d of May the Ripon got out convoy to the laſt diviſion of tranſports and ſtore-ſhips, together with two leaky bomb-ketches; as did alſo on the ſame day, the Suffolk, Prince Frederick, Jerſey, York, Experiment, and Elizabeth ſloop tender, all under the command of Capt. Davers, who as the Spaniards were much ſtraitened for want of proviſions, was ordered to cruize with theſe ſhips off Santa Martha for twenty days, to cut off all ſupplies that way; and then to return to Port Royal. On the 4th the Superbe and Succeſs fire-ſhips proceeded with the victuallers: the ſame day the fort of St Joſeph was entirely deſtroyed by Mr Shirley; and the day following the demolition of Boca Chica caſtle was moſt effectually completed, under the direction of Capt. Boſcawen and Mr Barnes; upon which the vice admiral diſpatched the neceſſary orders to Sir Chaloner Ogle, for drawing off the ſhips from above the next morning, and afterwards fell down himſelf, leaving orders with Commodore Leſtock, whoſe diviſion was poſted to be ſerviceable in aſſiſting all the reſt in getting out, to remain with his ſhip to the laſt. After having completed the demolition of the defence of the harbour, and deſtroyed the lime-kilns for putting the Spaniards backward in erecting other buildings, and ſhipping off all their ſtore of lime and lime-ſtone for the ſervice of the hoſpital building at Jamaica; on the 6th Vice Admiral Vernon very civilly left the harbour, not having injured any of their dwelling houſes, or through wantonneſs gave the leaſt looſe to any of thoſe rapacious practices of war, ſo often committed and ſo generally expected from the reſentment of an exaſperated and even a victorious enemy; all exceſſes of this nature

ture being contradictory to the humanity and open courage of the Britiſh admiral, and by his orders carefully guarded againſt, and avoided by both officers and ſeamen: the next day Sir Chaloner Ogle got out of the harbour with fourteen ſail, and joined the vice admiral off Point Canoa on the 8th, who proceeded for Jamaica, and in his way left Capt. Mayne in the Worceſter, with the Strafford, Princeſs Louiſa and Litchfield, to cruize to windward of Cape Tiberon till the 30th, for the ſecurity of the convoy with the victuallers and ſtore-ſhips expected from England; and on the 19th the vice admiral with the fleet got into Port Royal harbour, where to his great pleaſure he found the convoy with the victuallers and ſtore-ſhips were ſafely arrived about four days before him. CHAP. VI. 1741.

THUS terminated this memorable expedition, the greateſt and moſt expenſive that ever entered the American ſeas; and which had attracted the attention and admiration of all Europe: in which the Britiſh army loſt about 2,500 men, that were either killed or died by ſickneſs, and amongſt them two colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, four majors, the chief engineer, twenty-nine captains, fifty-one firſt and ſecond lieutenants, five enſigns, and Dr Martin the firſt phyſician; and 267 men wounded. On board the fleet the loſs was very inconſiderable, excepting the death of Lord Aubrey Beauclerc. The loſs ſuſtained by the Spaniards in the deſtruction of their ſix men of war, ſix galleons, and other veſſels in the harbour; and the forts, caſtles and guns, was eſtimated at above 645,000*l.* excluſive of the damage done within the town, and the loſs of great numbers of their men; beſides the diſadvantages enſuing from the demolition of the

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the fortifications, whereby that intricate harbour was no longer inacceſſible, and the treaſures of the new world could no more be embarked with ſafety from Carthagena, till the wants of Spain obliged her to comply with thoſe conditions ſhe had before ſo haughtily rejected.

AN Expedition begun with ſuch probability of a ſucceſsful termination, having ended ſo unfortunately, occaſioned a general diſcontent among the inhabitants of Great Britain; while the Spaniſh court removed from their anxiety of loſing ſo important a place, ordered three days public rejoicings on ſo ſingular an event. It muſt have been a very ſenſible mortification to every honeſt Engliſhman, as Carthagena would have been a prize of ineſtimable value; it is the jewel of America, which Cromwell was very ambitious to fix on the diadem of Britain: the city is ſpacious and beautiful, with a rich province annexed to it; if the city had been taken the province muſt have followed it; a province full of valuable mines, adjoining to and communicating with other rich provinces which encompaſs it: and had the Britiſh forces been victorious, they would have collected an immenſe treaſure, and would have been in poſſeſſion of a ſtrong ſettlement on the wealthy part of the continent of America, which would have finiſhed their diſputes with Spain; for according to Cromwell's ſcheme, Carthagena might have been made the Britiſh emporium in America, by means of which the Britiſh ſubjects might do that rightfully, which they had been charged to do clandeſtinely, and which gave riſe to the differences; that is, they might have gained a direct indiſputable trade with the rich part of the continent, by having a province there as well as Spain; and to maintain any conqueſts in

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that opulent part of the world, was the general sense of the British nation. CHAP. VI.

HENCE it obviously appears how very valuable such an acquisition must have been, and how much the unsuccessful attempt of the land forces is to be regretted, for on them alone can any imputation of misconduct descend; it would be transgressing the bounds of candour and honesty, to throw the least aspersions on the conduct of the commander of the fleet; who destroyed all the Spanish shipping, and the forts that defended the harbour; and not only with the greatest protection landed the army, and secured their re-imbarkation without the loss of a man; but it is evident did every thing, and every where, consistent with the part he bore in the expedition, and not in the least derogatory to the glorious reputation he had lately acquired; for the very ruins he left behind him, will for ages remain the monumental trophies of the valour and success of the naval force of Britain. 1741.

WHEN the army was landed, the business fell entirely within their province; yet the admiral supplied the general with seamen to raise his batteries, who from the beginning before Boca Chica castle, promised little hopes of success: no trenches were timely opened, no regular approaches made to beat the Spaniards out of their works, till a great number of troops were destroyed; but after sixteen days the army made an attack, which might as well have been done the first day, with as little loss in the assault as when the place was taken. When Monsieur de Pointi besieged and took Carthagena in the year 1697, he regulated his measures on shore in a quite different manner, and was crowned with a very reverse of fortune than what happened to

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the Britiſh troops; and his ſucceſs was principally owing to his conduct and prudence, for his force was very unequal to the Britiſh, the French commander having only a ſquadron of ſeven men of war from eighty to thirty guns, one bomb veſſel, and nine frigates, with 2,300 ſeamen and 1,800 ſoldiers, and thoſe but very indifferently diſciplined; and the Spaniards were at that time as numerous and as capable of defending the place againſt the French, as they were now againſt the Engliſh. The Britiſh admiral purſued the ſteps of Monſieur de Pointi, and landed the army on the very ſame ſpot the French commander had pitched upon for the ſame purpoſe: but the Britiſh troops when landed, very widely departed from the diſpoſitions put in execution by the French forces; for De Pointi having landed his men on the 15th of April, inſtead of concerting a formal and tedious attack, without erecting any battery, made a way through the wood to the lake; and after examining the fort, on the 16th marched ſome of his troops up to, and poſted himſelf at the foot of the counterſcarp, which ſo terrified the Spaniards that they immediately offered to capitulate, and the governor with his garriſon, conſiſting of 300 men, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, without any more than the loſs of fifty men to the French: whereas the Britiſh troops loſt above eight times that number before they entered the caſtle. After the reduction of Boca Chica caſtle, the Britiſh army re-imbarked on board the fleet, which tranſported them round the harbour, and re-landed them nearer the town; from whence they marched up to La Quinta, and encamping before Lazar, reconnoitred and took poſſeſſion of La Popa; but the French commander, after

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sending a party up the harbour to poſſeſs themſelves of La Popa, re-imbarked all that he had brought on ſhore before Boca Chica, and ordering the ſquadron to warp through the channel, thought it unneceſſary to re-imbark the land forces; and on the 18th marched them up through the country to fort Lazar, who in their way entered the fort of St Croix, afterwards called Caſtillo Grande, which the Spaniards had abandoned: the next day the French army croſſed the lake, and De Pointi on reconnoitring St Lazar, beheld with much trouble the time it muſt coſt if he attacked it in form, and brought his artillery to batter it; but afterwards getting up to an eminencey, above all the others, perceived if he could make a way through the wood to that height, they might afterwards go upon a level from thence to the foot of the fort, all the way being covered with woods; and that he could fix a miner to the fort if the garriſon reſolved to continue there. Upon this, on the 20th, he ordered his major-general to call to arms, and put the negroes to work upon cutting of a way to facilitate the march of the troops, which were about 2,200; this was carried on half way up the hill, where dividing the way to encompaſs the fort, one part of the forces marched to the right and the other to the left, and arrived at the foot of the fort in a very little time, where they made the greateſt fire that was poſſible; during which time the garriſon did little execution, by reaſon the beſiegers made their ſhot upon them ſo ſoon as they expoſed their bodies to view; and the French officers calling out for the ſcaling ladders, and placing their miners, the fear of the garriſon gave them occaſion to think they would be attacked on all ſides, which had effectually hap-

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pened if they had not chose to retire through the quarter towards the gate that was then free to them. In this manner the French possessed themselves of St Lazar, with the loss of only one captain and five grenadiers: what a surprizing difference between that and the loss sustained by the English in the same unfortunate attack! how melancholy the reflection between the deaths of five and five hundred! and how reverse the issue of one action so prosperously executed, by a body of 2,200 undisciplined Frenchmen; and the unhappy event of the other, though carried on by above 5,000 Britons!

DE POINTI afterwards pushed on his success, and in less than a fortnight obliged the town to surrender to him: the Spaniards, to the number of 2,800 listed men, marched out with military honours, leaving the town with the inhabitants, and nine millions of money to the victorious French.

HAD the British troops succeeded at the attack of fort Lazar, there was the highest probability they would have entered the town as triumphantly as the French had done: but many, too many reasons, glare strongly to the world to evince the true cause of such an ignoble disappointment. Certainly the British troops attacked the fort in a very different manner from the French, and they failed for want of advancing to ascend the hill to the right and left, where it was practicable, instead of halting at the foot of a steep part of the hill they could not ascend, and remaining there to perish at the mercy of the Spaniards. The various turns of war are so uncertain and precarious, as to elude the best concerted plans of the ablest and most vigilant commanders; while trivial accidents often lead to

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the nobleſt victories: and it would be an uncha- CHAP.
ritable pen, that poſitively aſſerted the miſconduct VI.
of ſuch an expedition to any particular perſon; 1741.
but an impartial writer cannot avoid taking notice, that General Wentworth acted very imprudently in not conſulting Admiral Vernon upon the attack, who could have adviſed a proper diſpoſition being made for it, and would undoubtedly have been ready to have given aſſiſtance in it from the fleet: and it is certain the general never carried, nor ſent, any of the officers that were to lead the attack, to La Popa, where he might have given them his proper directions, and they have known how to have executed his orders to the beſt advantage from their own obſervations; who if they were directed to carry on the attack to the right and left, took a contrary road from a miſtake, principally owing to their ignorance of the acceſſible parts of the hill, which if they had opportunely aſcended, like De Pointi, and lodged their men in the Spaniſh intrenchments, they would have been under cover againſt all fire from the town, and thoſe in the fort would not have dared to expoſe themſelves over the walls to fire upon them; ſo they would have had a ſhort and eaſy ſap in a clay hill, to have mined under a corner of the fort and made a breach, if the garriſon would have ſtayed for giving them that trouble; which it is probable they would not, but have rather choſe to abandon the fort as it was done to the French.

WHEN the land army were thus circumvented in their views, and too greatly diminiſhed to renew the aſſault, there was not even the leaſt poſſibility of reducing the town by the fire from the fleet: the walls were too tenable to admit of any breach, except on the land ſide, and there was

no

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no hopes of ſtorming it without. Indeed the Britiſh admiral ſent in the Galicia, purpoſely to try what effect her guns would have upon the walls, but found it too inconſiderable to do the Spaniards any other prejudice than deſtroying their houſes: and as an uncontroverted evidence of the impracticability of ſhips of war approaching near enough to batter the walls, De Pointi was convinced they could perform no effectual ſervice; for having ordered the Sceptre of 84 guns, St Lewis of 64 guns, and Vermandois of 60 guns, to advance and batter the city with their artillery, he found it ineffectual, their ſhot only reaching the tops of the houſes: he therefore ordered them to retire, and afterwards confined his endeavours ſolely to the land, where the city of Carthagena is only liable to be taken.

BUT the principal and moſt unhappy accident that contributed to promote the ill ſucceſs of the ſiege of Carthagena, was occaſioned by the arrival of the land forces in America in the moſt unhealthy part of the year. Every year is attended with one intemperate ſeaſon that never miſſes this part of the Indian coaſt; when the great rains, and violent thunder, ſpread an infection through the air, which ſcatters a contagious diſtemper, not only among ſuch as are ſtrangers to the climate, but even among thoſe that have been long inured to it, the very natives frequently finding it fatal to themſelves. The violence of this inclement ſeaſon was too heavily felt by the Britiſh troops, which ſwept them off the more fatally as the greateſt part of the army were raw and unſeaſoned men, inexpert in the uſe of arms, and incapable of enduring the fatigues of military diſcipline in a climate of ſuch intempe-

intemperature: it was this diminiſhed the army infinitely more than the Spaniards; it was this occaſioned them to abandon the expedition; and it was this ſo greatly enfeebled the ſurvivors, that on their arrival at Jamaica, many of the principal officers, and great numbers of the men were daily periſhing, through the infirmities they had contracted on their unproſperous enterprize.

THE

SECOND PART,

IN TWO DIVISIONS.

FIRST DIVISION.

FROM THE

Death of the Emperor CHARLES VI.

On the 9th of OCTOBER, M DCC XL,

TO THE

End of the CAMPAIGN in M DCC XLI.

SECOND DIVISION.

Naval War in AMERICA and EUROPE,

In M DCC XLI.

FIRST DIVISION.

CHAPTER I.

From the death of the Emperor CHARLES VI. to the invaſion of SILESIA; containing an examination of the pretenſions of the houſes of BAVARIA and BRANDENBURGH to the AUSTRIAN ſucceſſion.

THE houſe of Auſtria had, for a great number of years, uninterruptedly enjoyed the imperial dignity; but France, her perpetual competitor for power, had gradually clipped the wings of her ſoaring eagle, and greatly diminiſhed the grandeur of that illuſtrious family; whoſe declenſion had ſo manifeſtly aggrandized the houſe of Bourbon, as to make that monarchy a formidable enemy to the other European powers. For while the

CHAP. I.

PART II.

houſe of Auſtria flouriſhed in a condition to oppoſe the deſigns of France, the ballance of power was preſerved, and the liberty of Europe remote from the deſtruction of an arbitrary and univerſal monarchy: like Rome and Carthage, while they preſerved an adequate ſtrength, the mutual greatneſs of the one protected the reſt of mankind from the ſlavery and oppreſſion of the other; but no ſooner was the houſe of Auſtria depreſſed by the treaty of Munſter in 1648, and thereby diſmantled of her principal ſtrength on the Rhine, than Europe began to feel the force and fear the councils of France.

WHEN Lewis XIV. ſate upon the throne of France, it was apparent that crown, had either by the induſtry of its ſubjects, the addreſs of its miniſtry, or the negligence of its neighbours, ariſen to that height of power ſhe had been long and laborioufly attaining. The French, for near a century had been always triumphant in their encroachments on their neighbours: from the number of their troops, their readineſs in taking the field, the remiſſneſs of their enemies, joined with their manner of interpreting the ſenſe of their leagues and treaties, they had always ſucceeded in every thing they undertook; the long ſeries of their good fortune made them arrogate to themſelves the titles of intrepid and invincible; and in this reign France was arrived to ſuch an exuberance of wealth, and ſuch extent of influence, as made her more juſtly formidable to the reſt of Europe; to whom it was no leſs apparent, that the deſigns which wealth and power naturally incite, of enlarging dominion and depreſſing competition, had been long entertained by the French miniſtry; which as they terminated in nothing leſs than univerſal empire, in the ſuppreſſion

preſſion of all the privileges, and the ſubverſion of all the governments of Europe, it was the invariable and certain intereſt of all the free part of mankind to defeat. CHAP. I.

THE aſpiring ſpirit of the French monarch, prompted him to look on the powers of Europe as already doomed for his ſlaves and vaſſals; and elated with this ambitious view, in fancy great as Jupiter, he held the up-lifted bolt ready to hurl down on the heads of thoſe whom he had devoted to deſtruction: but though providence has permitted an Alexander and a Cæſar, as the inſtruments of its own vengeance, to enſlave ſome countries, and extirpate the human race in others; heaven had now too tender an eye on the preſervation of mankind, to ſuffer the world to bow down and be trampled upon, beneath the feet of a Louis: and of this Europe ſhould maintain a grateful remembrance, ſince the prudent Naſſau, and the immortal Marlborough, were ſent, like two guardian angels, to avert the ſtroke of tyranny, and procure happineſs to the world.

To accompliſh this great and glorious end, the plan of politics purſued by the miniſters of King William, and during the reign of Queen Ann, till towards the latter end of it, when a new miniſtry began to take new meaſures, was, to diminiſh the power of the houſe of Bourbon, then aiming at an acceſſion of ſtrength by uniting the Spaniſh monarchy with France; and increaſe the power of the houſe of Auſtria, as the moſt efficacious method of preſerving a ballance of power in Europe.

IN execution of this noble plan, the Britiſh nation, in 1688, formed an alliance with the Emperor and the Dutch, which exiſted for ten years; when the Britiſh nation, who were the ſoul of the confederacy, after loſing 100,000 men, and con-

PART II. contracting a debt of twenty millions, concluded a peace with great advantage to the Empire and Holland. This was followed by the partition treaty, whereby Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain, were to be added to the French dominions; or if that crown ſhould think fit to ſet aſide the treaty, upon the Spaniards refuſing to accept it; then the French would have pretenſions to the whole Spaniſh monarchy. And ſo it proved in the event; for the then King of Spain, eſteeming it an indignity to have theſe his territories cantoned out into parcels by other princes, during his own life, and without his conſent, rather choſe to bequeath the monarchy entire to the Duke of Anjou, a younger ſon of France, becauſe he knew the natural averſion the Spaniards had ever held againſt dividing their dominions.

THE Duke of Anjou ſucceeded to the monarchy of Spain, in breach of the partition treaty; this being ſo great an addition to the power of France, left no hopes of preſerving the ballance of Europe; becauſe that monarch would in effect be king, while his grandſon had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever, of purſuing his deſign for univerſal empire. To prevent this acceſſion of power in the houſe of Bourbon, in 1702, the grand alliance was formed, between the Emperor, Great Britain, and the Dutch, in conjunction with other powers, againſt France and her allies, The Duke of Marlborough, at the head of 150,000 men, appeared in Flanders, and carried in his fortune the fate of Europe, and proſperity of Britain: Bavaria, Tallard, and Marſin, felt him on the plains of Blenheim, where the routed army of France, after the diminution of 30,000 men, choſe to throw themſelves headlong into the Danube,

nube, rather than face about upon their conque- CHAP.
ror; the triumphant columns erected there, per- I.
petuate their disgrace; the introduction of this victorious commander into the college of the Germanic princes; the loud acclamations acknowledging him the deliverer of Europe abroad; and the sweet-tuned numbers of Addison at home; will remain to latest posterity, as faithful records of the seasonable assistance of the British arms at the battle of Hochstet, and the glories of that immortal day. Villeroy was defeated by the British chief on the plains of Ramillies; Vendosme, Burgundy, and Berry, shrunk before him at Oudenarde; and Villars soon participated the fate of his predecessors. During the course of ten campaigns, the British general besieged no town but what he took, attacked no army but what he routed; the chiefs at Poictiers, Cressy, and Agincourt, were now rivalled in fame; Marlborough was every where active, and every where victorious. But the reputation of this glorious general was afterwards attacked; the publick were debauched with impressions of his affection for prolonging the war; he was dismissed: the illustrious Ormond succeeded him, and soon after a suspension of arms between Great Britain and France was proclaimed at the head of both armies; and Great Britain, after sustaining the expence of sixty millions, and the effusion of the blood of thousands, in conjunction with the Dutch, concluded a peace with France by the treaty of Utrecht, on the 11th of April 1713; whereby the dreaded union of the French and Spanish crowns was effectually prevented, by solemn renunciations from the Duke of Anjou to the throne of France, and from the other princes of the house of Bourbon to the crown of Spain.

But

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But the emperor, discontented with this treaty, determined to try the effect of another campaign; and the French and Spaniards, under the Duke of Berwick, bent all their revenge against Barcelona; where the abandoned Catalonians were exposed to all the horrors of a siege, destruction, famine, and mortality: it is not in the power of time to expunge this blot on the British glory; for who can name the Catalonians without a tear? Brave unhappy people! drawn into the war by an encouragement of the maritime powers, from whom only, a nation encompassed to the land by France and Spain, could hope for relief and protection; now deserted and open to the resentment of an enraged prince, whose person and interest they had always opposed; and yet still so fond of their antient liberties, that though hemmed up in a neck of land by the forces of the two crowns, and closely besieged in Barcelona, they chose rather, like their countrymen, the famous Saguntines of old, to perish with their wives and children, than live in slavery. How reverse their present situation from what it was when these very Catalonians assisted the French against the Spanish king! France so far from thus abandoning, obtained them the most honourable conditions; not a single man was then hurt, either in his person or privilege; but now they were left surrounded with fire and sword, combating with every calamity. Poor unfortunate Catalonians, worthy of a better fate! Good and gracious God! to whom shall be attributed the loss of this brave people!

THE British nation apprehended, by this treaty, their ministry had deviated from the plan, intended to have been pursued on the commencement of the war, and the Earl of Oxford, who

who was then the prime minister, was impeached for not pursuing it; the chief article against him being, that "By the peace of Utrecht, he had "left the power of the house of Austria too "small in Italy and Flanders, and the kingdom "of Spain under a sort of dependence upon the "court of France." CHAP. I.

GREAT difficulties remained unadjusted by that treaty, and much embarrassed all the affairs of Europe; yet in the following year, by the treaties of Rastadt and Baden, the emperor and France determined their differences; and by the treaty of London in 1716, to augment the Austrian power in Italy, Naples, and Sicily, were ceded to the emperor, in exchange for Sardinia, which was granted to the Duke of Savoy; but this was not immediately complied with, and many differences subsisted between the emperor and Spain, till long after Sir Robert Walpole began to have an influence over the British councils: his predecessors, after entailing a debt of fifty millions upon the nation, had been puzzled with these disputes, and in endeavouring to appease them, had already by the quadruple alliance in 1718, and several subsequent treaties and proceedings, in a great degree disgusted both those powers. At a time therefore, when the reins of the British government fell into the hands of Sir Robert Walpole, it required superior abilities for foreign affairs, and another turn to extricate the nation out of these difficult circumstances. But, contrary to that plan of politics so essentially necessary for the British nation to pursue, this minister, instead of adhering firmly to the emperor, yielded to the views of Spain; and by this conduct highly provoked the emperor, which Spain observing, took that opportunity to ac-

PART II. commodate her own affairs with the imperial court, and for this purpose sent a minister privately to Vienna, by whose means treaties of peace, guaranty, and commerce, were concluded between the two courts in the beginning of the year 1725.

THE concluding of these treaties, and the good correspondence thereby established between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, gave a most just and reasonable alarm to France; as Spain had received a recent affront from this court, by sending back, that very year, the infanta, who had been contracted in marriage to their young king, whom they married the same year to the Princess Leozinsky, daughter of Stanislaus the deposed King of Poland. With the utmost reason to dread this formidable union, the court of France, finding she could not instil any fears into the Dutch, had recourse to the British minister, and endeavoured to fill him with dangerous apprehensions from those treaties; for this purpose informing him, that there were some secret articles by which the emperor and Spain had agreed to take Gibraltar and Port Mahon, to defeat the protestant succession by restoring the pretender, and to ruin the British trade with Spain, by granting many considerable advantages to the subjects of the emperor; representing, that the only way the British nation had to guard against these terrible designs, was by entering into a defensive alliance with France.

INFLUENCED by these French sollicitations, Sir Robert Walpole stumbled upon the most unlucky accident for the British nation, finally accessory to his own declension, and almost to the ballance of power in Europe. This was the advancing the unnatural thesis of a necessity to pull down

down the pretended exorbitant power of the houſe of Auſtria, and in ſecuring France againſt the attacks of the Emperor and Spain; the one diametrically oppoſite to the honour, and the other to the intereſt of Britain. Sir Robert apprehended the peace was upon the point of being diſturbed again, and ſuffering to be impoſed on by France, exerted himſelf to form a confederacy againſt the emperor and Spain; and accordingly the Hanover treaty was concluded between France, Pruſſia, and Great Britain, the 23d of September 1725, about four months after the treaty between the emperor and Spain, concluded at Vienna. This was entirely throwing the Britiſh nation into the arms of France, and breaking off from its old and natural connection with the houſe of Auſtria; for by a ſeparate article of this treaty, Great Britain engaged "In caſe war "ſhould be declared by the Empire againſt "France, that though ſhe was not comprized "in the declaration of ſuch war, Great Britain "would act in concert with France till ſuch war "ſhould be determined;" and by virtue of the third article of the ſame treaty, "Should, if ne-"ceſſity required, declare war upon the Em-"pire." And thus, ſays a celebrated French hiſtorian, "By this treaty the Duke of Bourbon, "then firſt miniſter to the moſt chriſtian king, "brought to maturity what his predeceſſors had "projected, and France at length attained what "ſhe had ſo long wiſhed, a diſ-union between "Great Britain and the houſe of Auſtria, for "which ſhe had vainly expended ſuch immenſe "ſums in the preceeding reign."

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THE preſervation of France was thus ſtrongly ſecured, and the houſe of Auſtria deſerted and confederated againſt by its natural and old ally,

PART II. and without all doubt the rashness of this measure had commenced a war, which would have ruined the ballance of power in Europe without resource; the powers of the grand alliance being now upon the point of pursuing the destruction of each other, with the same determined rancour which they had formerly exerted against their common enemy the French: if the emperor had not with a happy moderation, himself opened a way to bring this measure to an accommodation; for this monarch, notwithstanding all the indignities that had passed, and all the provocations he had received, still retained a just sense both of his obligations and his interest to cultivate the antient friendship of the house of Austria with Great Britain, was willing to overlook all that was passed, and prevented one of the pretended subjects of animosity, by agreeing to the suspension of the Ostend company. Upon which a new preliminary treaty was signed at Vienna, in June, 1727, whereby the emperor was soon after induced to alliance with Great Britain against Spain, and at the congress held at Soissons, the interest of Britain was re-united with the imperial court. No sooner was this re-union completed, but the British minister began to be as much frightened at the variance, as he had been terrified before with the union of the emperor and Spain; he therefore, with a strange alteration of conduct, in conjunction with France and Spain, concluded the treaty of Seville, in November, 1729. The emperor was entirely unacquainted with this treaty till it was concluded, and no wonder, for it contained an article, which has since proved, as he always foresaw it would, of the most fatal consequence to his Italian dominions: this article was the immediate admission

sion of 6,000 Spaniſh troops into Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to ſecure the reverſion of thoſe ſtates, after the deaths of their reſpective princes, to Don Carlos; which, in the quadruple alliance, the emperor had conſented to be done only by neutral forces, and even that very much againſt his inclination; theſe territories being fiefs of the empire. CHAP. I.

SUCH preventive meaſures gave France an opportunity of influencing the Britiſh miniſtry, who were now upon the point of joining not only France, but of uniting with the whole houſe of Bourbon againſt the emperor, and the whole Germanic body: but though the emperor at firſt determined to reſiſt the execution of this treaty, at length he conſented to this ruinous meaſure; and with tears in his eyes, by the treaty of the 16th of March, 1731, agreed to admit a prince of the Bourbon line to eſtabliſh a dominion in Italy, at the expence of his own territories; ſubmitting to make this ſacrifice, on condition of guaranteeing the pragmatic ſanction, being willing not even yet to deſpair that the Britiſh nation would at laſt be convinced of, and abandon its errors.

THE Spaniſh troops had not been long landed in Italy, before an alliance was formed between France, Sardinia, and Spain, to invade the Auſtrian dominions in that country; in 1733, they attacked the Milaneſe, and ſoon made an entire conqueſt of that duchy.

THE emperor, confiding in the engagements of Great Britain to ſupport the pragmatic ſanction, had withdrawn his troops from Italy; and as the French in 1734 had attacked him in the empire, and were alſo endeavouring to bring an Ottoman army againſt him, his imperial majeſty found

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found it was impoſſible for him long to make head alone, againſt the different attacks made and meditated upon the Empire itſelf and his hereditary countries, and to defend his Italian poſſeſſions at the ſame time. In that perilous interval he called upon Great Britain to execute her late treaty; imploring her in the moſt pathetic terms, not to deſert an old, a faithful, and a ſincere ally, ſo ſtrictly united by all the bonds of mutual affection and mutual ſecurity, in a time of ſuch imminent diſtreſs, a diſtreſs which the Britiſh councils, and his acquieſcence to them, had reduced him to. But all theſe remonſtrances proving ineffectual, and the emperor procuring no aſſiſtance from England, after the misfortune of ſeeing the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily raviſhed out of his cuſtody, and added to the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Bourbon, in exchange for Parma, Placentia, and Tuſcany, was obliged to accept of a very diſadvantageous treaty of peace in 1736; and in this ſituation did the houſe of Auſtria remain with the European powers, till the year 1740.

GERMANY had but lately enjoyed a ſtate of tranquility, in which the houſe of Auſtria had not recovered time to recruit her loſſes, occaſioned by the war with France, and the late unſucceſsful alliance with Ruſſia againſt the Turks; when ſhe was again plunged in the greateſt difficulties by the death of the Emperor Charles Francis VI.

THIS monarch died at his palace of Favorita, near Vienna, on the 9th of October, 1740; leaving iſſue only two daughters, the eldeſt of which, Maria Thereſa Walpurge, on the 1ſt of February, 1726, married the Duke of Lorrain, for whom, by the ſucceeding treaty of Vienna, the emperor obtained the grand duchy of Tuſcany on the extinction of the houſe of Medicis, and

and intended to have got him elected king of the Romans; a ſtep ſo ſalutary for the repoſe of the Empire, could not have failed anſwering the emperor's expectations, in preventing any contentions of ſucceeding to the imperial dignity; but the reaſon that induced the emperor to defer taking ſo neceſſary a ſtep, is attributed to his reliance on the pragmatic ſanction. CHAP. I.

As this imperial ordinance, or decree, ſo generally known by the name of the pragmatic ſanction, is not univerſally underſtood, it may not be improper to give a ſummary explication of it. Pragmatic, according to the etymology, ſignifies, in one ſenſe, expert, buſy, belonging to the civil courts; and in another conſtruction, implies ſomething that regards the matter in general, abſtracted from circumſtances or perſons; and in the latter ſenſe, ſeems to have been taken by the emperors in relation to the preſent matter. This ordinance was the reſult of the Emperor Leopold's concern to avoid the fatal conſequences that might probably attend the failure of male iſſue in his family; for which purpoſe he formed a deſign, to ſettle the ſucceſſion of his hereditary dominions in the female line, as the only way to prevent the revolutions that might otherwiſe happen. The eldeſt branch of the houſe of Auſtria being extinct in Charles II. King of Spain, gave Leopold a favourable opportunity of completing his project; accordingly he communicated the ſcheme to his two ſons Joſeph and Charles, afterwards emperors, who jointly approved of it; their father then delivered it to his miniſters, who carried it through the ſeveral diets of the Empire, where it received all the validity thoſe auguſt aſſemblies could give it. Upon his death his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him as emperor; and

by

PART II. by his wife Wilhelmina Amelia, daughter of John Frederick, Duke of Hanover, had iſſue only two daughters, Maria Joſepha, married at Dreſden in 1719 to Auguſtus, Electoral Prince of Saxony, now Elector, and King of Poland; and Maria Amelia, married at Munich in 1722 to Charles Albert, afterwards Elector of Bavaria and Emperor of Germany; who died without making any particular diſpoſitions in this inſtrument. He was ſucceeded by his brother Charles, and his only ſon dying an infant, on the birth of the eldeſt daughter Maria Thereſa Walpurge in 1717, the Emperor Charles began to think of ſecuring to her that ſucceſſion, which in right of blood ſhould after his deceaſe revert to the daughters of his brother. The pragmatic ſanction, as made by his father, was not ſufficient for this purpoſe; but the ſame authority that made the one, and intailed the Auſtrian eſtates upon female iſſue, could make another and confine the intail to his own poſterity. Accordingly he had another ſimilar inſtrument drawn up in favour of his own children, whether male or female, which was agreed to by a council held for that purpoſe; ſix months after, in the year 1720, it gained the approbation of the hereditary dominions, and was ſworn to by the ſtates and magiſtrates: but other courts, foreſeeing the difficulties that might attend ſuch an engagement, were not over forward to guarantee it. The courts of Great Britain and France, though at that time mediators between the Emperor and King of Spain, refuſed to take this ſuretyſhip upon them, which produced the firſt treaty of Vienna in 1725, between their imperial and catholic majeſties, whereby Spain, in conſideration of the ceſſion of Naples and Sicily became

became guarantee to the new pragmatic sanction: in 1726 it was virtually guaranteed by Russia, and some months after it was declared a public law, by a conclusion of the general diet of the Empire. In 1731, by the second article of the second treaty of Vienna, Great Britain took on her the same guarantee; as did the States General, and King of Denmark in 1732, the Elector of Saxony in 1733; and by the last treaty of Vienna in 1738 France also confirmed it, for the surrender of Lorrain. CHAP. I.

THE princes of the empire, who opposed the pragmatic sanction, were the Elector of Bavaria, the Elector Palatine, and the Bishop of Freisingen and Ratisbon. The Elector of Bavaria founded a claim, in right of his wife, as next successor to the Austrian dominions, if the emperor died without issue male; and also in right of his family, laid pretensions on the duchy of Upper Austria, which antiently belonged to Bavaria, to the country of Tirol, and to the Marquisate of Burgau in Suabia, all possessed by the house of Austria. The bishop being a Bavarian prince, and both his dioceses surrounded by that electorate, was easily prevailed on to oppose the imperial ordinance; but what view of interest could produce the Elector Palatine to such an opposition was not so manifest, if not to an aversion he always professed against the house of Austria, or else by his attachment to the King of France, who had declared in favour of the Prince of Sultzbach, nephew to the elector.

UPON the death of the emperor, the Arch-Duchess Maria Theresa, his eldest daughter, was the same day, conformable to the disposition made by the pragmatic sanction, proclaimed 1740.

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Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Princeſs of Tranſilvania, Arch-Ducheſs of Auſtria, and ſucceſſor to all the provinces and hereditary dominions of her illuſtrious houſe. Theſe dominions conſiſted, of the kingdom of Hungary, the kingdom of Bohemia, the principality of Tranſilvania, the duchy of Sileſia, the margraviate of Moravia, the arch-duchy of Auſtria, the duchies of Stiria, Carinthia, Sclavonia, Carniola, part of Croatia and Boſnia, with all Morlachia, the county of Tirol, and the biſhopric of Trent; in Italy, the duchies of Milan, Mantua, Parma, and Placentia, beſides Tuſcany, belonging to the grand duke; in Germany, ſeveral teritories in Suabia; and in the Low Countries, all that belonged there to the Spaniſh monarchy. If extent of territories, and number of ſubjects, alone conſtituted power, the potency of her Hungarian majeſty would have been nothing inferior to any monarch in Europe; the area of her dominions being twice as large as that of France, including the conquered provinces, and containing ſeventeen millions of inhabitants: the forces the late emperor maintained in the year 1728, when there was a profound peace, were 145,000 men, but in the month of October 1733, that number was augmented to 180,000; and to ſupport ſo great an army, the annual revenue, collected throughout his whole dominions, generally amounted to about nine millions and a half of pounds ſterling. But though her Hungarian majeſty ſucceeded to ſo long a train of magnificent titles, and the actual poſſeſſion of two potent kingdoms, and a variety of noble provinces, their wide diſjunction rendered them incapable of a mutual ſupport; they were ill provided for defence,

fence, impoverished with continual taxes, and liable to litigious claims. CHAP. I.

THE young queen issued immediate orders for completing all the regiments in her service; the states of Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, and the other hereditary provinces, were summoned to meet; and a few days after, her majesty, by a public act, associated the grand duke her husband in the regency. On the 1st of December the states of Austria assembled, as did the states of Hungary and Bohemia about the same time; they acknowledged her majesty as their sovereign, and not only granted the necessary supplies, but the states of Bohemia agreed to lend her majesty 500,000 florins. 1740.

THE queen dispatched her ambassadors to the respective courts of Europe, notifying her accession to the throne of Hungary, and the other hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. France made the most solemn declarations inviolably to preserve the pragmatic sanction; while Saxony, Prussia and Hanover, promised to support it, not only with their interest, but if necessary, by the troops of their electoral dominions: though the Elector of Bavaria returned her majesty's letters of notification unopened, and declared his resolution of disputing the succession, by his ambassador, to all the ministers then residing at Vienna; and for this purpose, to his former claims, he now set up another to the whole of her Hungarian majesty's dominions, under the will of Ferdinand I. With this view, the elector alledged, in a memorial presented in November 1740, by his minister at the court of Vienna, 'That Ferdinand, being then 'King of the Romans, in 1546, having 'married his daughter Anne to Duke Albert,

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'son of Duke William of Bavaria, a clause was 'inserted in the marriage contract,' "That "the Arch-Ducheſs Anne, in conſideration of "her dowry, ſhould renounce all paternal and "maternal inheritance with this reſerve; that "if the male deſcendants of the houſe of Auſ"tria, not only thoſe of her father Ferdinand, "but alſo of his brother the Emperor Charles V. "ſhould fail, and the ſucceſſion devolve to the "daughter, the ſaid Arch-Ducheſs Anne; and "her heirs, ſhould be admitted to inherit all "that they might pretend to, as well in regard "to the kingdom of Hungary and the provinces "depending on it, as in regard to the princi"palities and dominions of the houſe of Auſtria." 'And that by a clauſe in the will of the Em'peror Ferdinand he declares,' "That if his "wife, and all his ſons, ſhould die without law"ful iſſue, one of his daughters ſhould ſucceed "in quality of lawful heireſs to the kingdoms "of Hungary and Bohemia;" 'And by a 'codicil annexed to the will the 4th of Febru'ary 1547, he confirmed this diſpoſition, and 'expreſsly declared, "That in the above caſe, "the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia "ſhould be the inheritance of the eldeſt of his "daughters, who ſhould then be living." And the elector inſiſted, that Ferdinand did not thereby intend, that in caſe of failure of the males, his daughter the Princeſs Anne, who by the death of her ſiſter Elizabeth was then the eldeſt, as ſhe likewiſe was at the death of her father, ſhould be put behind the laſt arch-duchеſſes born at that time, and who might be ſtill living when the ſucceſſion ſhould lie open; wherefore he reſerved to that princeſs, by the marriage contract, her hereditary right and pretenſions,

as

as likewiſe to her heirs and deſcendants, which put the matter entirely out of diſpute. To make his title the more demonſtrable, the elector alſo cited another article of the will, where it is ſaid, "That in caſe the Emperor Charles V. "ſhould alſo die without male iſſue, or that af- "ter his death his male heirs ſhould become ex- "tinct; the Auſtrian dominions ſhould devolve "to, and be inherited by, thoſe who had a "right to them." And infers that it did not appear how this could be applied to any but the Princeſs Anne, who was called to the ſucceſſion not only by her right of ſeniority, but alſo by the reverſion ſtipulated in her marriage contract: alledging that the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia having been brought by Ferdinand into the houſe of Auſtria, he was conſequently the firſt acquirer, and to him belonged the right and power of diſpoſal of them; this he did in favour of his eldeſt daughter, married into the houſe of Bavaria, and her lawful deſcendants; from that eldeſt daughter the houſe of Bavaria deſcends in a direct and uninterrupted line; and the elector inſiſted, that the right of this houſe became indiſputable, when it was conſidered that Ferdinand I. firmly inſiſted on the order of primogeniture eſtabliſhed in regard to the ſucceſſion of the male deſcendants, and that he followed the ſame order in caſe the ſucceſſion ſhould devolve to the females.

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THIS memorial was accompanied with a proteſt by the Bavarian miniſter, importing "That "the Elector of Bavaria, in conjunction with "ſome other ſtates of the Empire, had demonſ- "trated how attentive he had been to maintain "his rights ſince the guarantee of the pragma- "tic ſanction; and that his electoral highneſs being

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" being conſtant to his principles, thought himſelf obliged to neglect no opportunity, to ſecure himſelf and his family againſt the prejudices that might reſult from the acceptance of the ſaid guaranty; and as the arch-ducheſs had challenged to herſelf the poſſeſſion of all the kingdoms and dominions of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, the elector found himſelf indiſpenſably obliged to proteſt in the moſt ſolemn manner, againſt the order of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by the pragmatic ſanction, ſo premature, illegal, and prejudicial to his rights; reſerving to himſelf, without any reſtriction, the maintenance of the ſaid rights, and thoſe of his family." And on the delivery of this memorial and proteſt, the Bavarian miniſter, without taking leave, abruptly departed from the court of Vienna.

THE Queen of Hungary being thus ſenſibly attacked in her legal ſucceſſion; to vindicate her right, communicated by her miniſters to the diet, and foreign courts, a declaration in anſwer to the above memorial, whereby to invalidate the elector's pretenſions, " That the eldeſt " daughter of Ferdinand, and her deſcendants, " ought to ſucceed immediately on failure of " the iſſue male of the houſe of Auſtria;" her majeſty declared, ſuch a clauſe was ſo far from being mentioned in the will of the ſaid emperor, that, quite the contrary, it ſays " That the eldeſt " daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I. who " ſhould be then alive, ſhould ſucceed to the " two kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, " with a preference when there were no de- " ſcendants living from her three brothers;" and that her majeſty, as eldeſt daughter of the laſt ſurvivor of the males, ought to have the preferenee

ference of ſucceſſion, according to the expreſs diſpoſitions of the will; eſpecially as it is a truth agreed by the civilians, that when a ſucceſſion is in diſpute, which does not exclude the females, they ought to be included under the denomination of lawful deſcendants; and that conſequently the electoral houſe of Bavaria had not the ſhadow of a pretenſion to diſpute a ſucceſſion with her majeſty, which God, nature, and all laws, and particularly the uſage of her archiducal family ſecured to her. CHAP. I. 1740.

As the Elector of Bavaria always proteſted againſt the pragmatic ſanction, the powers of Europe were no ways ſurprized at theſe declarations, nor from his own abilities were their conſequences to be dreaded, as his whole annual revenue never exceeded one million ſterling, and his forces were too feeble, without aſſiſtance, to aſſert his rights by the ſword. But the court of Munich, ſince the treaty of Munſter in 1648, being wholly devoted to the intereſt of France; and it being conſpicuous, the court of Verſailles had long aſſiſted the electoral houſe, as a falcon fed and cheriſhed only to fly at the royal eagle of Auſtria on every opportunity; it was therefore juſtly to be ſuſpected, France, notwithſtanding her declaration to preſerve the pragmatic ſanction, would enterfere in favour of the elector, either in the ſucceſſion, or in the election of an emperor; which the Elector of Mentz, as arch-chancellor of the empire, had fixed for the 16th of February. The elector, during this year, was incapable of any military operations to enforce his pretenſions, and contented himſelf with the reſult of the cabinet. But the tranquility of her Hungarian majeſty was diſturbed by a ſudden and violent ſtorm from another quarter, from whence as it

was

PART II. was the leaſt expected, it therefore occaſioned a more general ſurprize.

1740. Upon the death of the late emperor, no prince in Europe gave greater aſſurances of his reſolution to ſupport the pragmatic ſanction than the King of Pruſſia; and it was univerſally believed he would be one of the firmeſt friends of the houſe of Auſtria. This young monarch, on the death of the emperor, recruited his regular troops, and collected an army of 100,000 men. At firſt this proceeding was diſregarded, becauſe all the princes in Germany were recruiting their forces, to preſerve the empire from any occaſional diſturbances; and it was more particularly imagined, that his majeſty was preparing to aſſiſt the Queen of Hungary againſt any attack from Bavaria. Far otherwiſe tended the views of this enterprizing monarch; he found himſelf at the head of a potent nation, with a ſtanding army of 80,000 complete ſoldiers, and an annual revenue of two millions ſterling; and grew impatient to manifeſt his own capacity, and the power of his arms, to the reſt of Europe. In this he was neither in want of powerful incentives, or plauſible pretences. He inſiſted on an inconteſtable right, in the royal and electoral family of Brandenburgh, to the principalities and lordſhips of Jagerndorff, Lignitz, Brieg, Wohlau, Beuten, Oderberg, and other territories in the duchy of Sileſia; partly founded upon antient pacts of ſucceſſion and cofraternity, between his predeceſſors in the electoral dignity, and the dukes of Sileſia, Lignitz, Brieg, and Wohlau; as well as upon other controvertible titles. For George Frederick, Duke of Jagerndorff, having no children, by his laſt will, bequeathed that duchy, which he had a right to diſpoſe of under the permiſſion granted by

by Lewis King of Bohemia, to the Margrave George, who had purchaſed the duchy from the Lords of Schellenberg in 1524; and alſo the hereditary lordſhips of Lubſchutz, Oderberg, Beuten, Tarnowitz, and other dependencies, to the electoral houſe of Brandenburg: which on his death deſcended to Joachim-Frederic, then Elector of Brandenburg, who took poſſeſſion of the duchy of Jagurndorf and of all its dependencies; and in 1607 granted it to his youngeſt ſon, the Margrave John-George; who, during the troubles of Bohemia, allying himſelf with Frederic V. Elector Palatine, engaged in a bloody war with the Emperor Ferdinand II. the emperor afterwards diſpoſſeſſed the margrave of his duchy of Jagurndorf, and put him to the ban of the empire in the year 1623; under which he died the year following; and his ſon, being thus deprived of his patrimony, dying in 1642, with him was extinct the appanaged branch of Brandenburg to which Jagurndorf belonged. The duchy then fell, with all its dependencies, to the electoral line, as an inheritance which by right belonged to the males of the family: and as his Pruſſian majeſty inſiſted, that even the children of a vaſſal, convicted of felony, could not be deprived of the natural right they have to the fief of which the family has received the inveſtiture, becauſe they do not hold their right of ſucceſſion of the laſt poſſeſſor, but of the will and diſpoſition of the perſon from whom their fief originally deſcends; and that the laſt poſſeſſor of an hereditary fief, muſt tranſmit it to his relations of the collateral line; therefore as the houſe of Auſtria had been in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the duchy and revenues

CHAP. I. 1740.

PART II. almoſt a hundred years, his Pruſſian majeſty thought fit to reclaim it.

1740. As to the duchies of Lignitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, the antient Dukes of Lignitz, deſcended from the Piaſts, were ſovereigns in their dominions, and governed them as a country free and hereditary in their family, without ſubjection to the Kings of Poland or Bohemia, or even depending on any one. But in the year 1329, they offered in fief to John of Lutzenberg King of Bohemia, as well their duchies and principalities, as their other eſtates; declaring, as appears by the firſt letters of inveſtiture, "That the offer "was voluntary; that they poſſeſſed their territories as perſonal and hereditary eſtates; and "intended to hold them alſo for the future as "hereditary fiefs, preſerving all their rights and "privileges." And by other letters, granted by King Uladiſlas in the year 1511, the fiefs and ſtates of Lignitz, are declared "To be he"reditary and alienable; ſo that the Dukes of "Lignitz ſhould preſerve their antient privileges "to ſell, mortgage, or alienate all their eſtates "and poſſeſſions." Upon this Robert Frederic, Duke of Lignitz, executed a treaty of Union and hereditary cofraternity with Joachim the ſecond, Elector of Brandenburg, in the year 1537, ſigned and confirmed by oath; whereby the Duke of Lignitz, by conſent of the prelates, lords, gentlemen, and other his ſubjects, agreed, "That in caſe he, or his male deſcendants, ſhould "die without iſſue male, that all his principa"lities and eſtates, and all that his deſcendants "ſhould leave behind them, ſhould belong to "the Elector Joachim and his heirs male, from "generation to generation for ever; and in fail"ure thereof, to his brother Prince John, Mar-

"grave

" grave of Brandenburg, in like manner; and in CHAP.
" default of them, to ſuch of the Margraves of I.
" Franconia who ſhould ſit on the electoral
" throne: And that when ſuch caſe ſhould hap- 1740.
" pen, it ſhould be lawful for the Elector of
" Brandenburg to put himſelf actually in poſſeſ-
" ſion of the territories of Lignitz, Brieg, Woh-
" lau, and all their appertenances, his houſe
" having already received the homage of them;
" with a reſervation, to render the ſervices due to
" the crown of Bohemia." But on the 18th of May 1546, Ferdinand I. King of Bohemia, publiſhed an edict, declaring " That the Duke " of Lignitz had not a right to make hereditary " treaties of cofraternity;" and the king, as Lord Paramount of the fiefs of Sileſia, annulled and aboliſhed the ſame; obliging the Duke of Lignitz, and his two ſons, to renounce the treaty with the houſe of Brandenburg, though they had confirmed it by a ſolemn oath, and even forced them to acknowledge, that after the death of the laſt male of their family, the duchies and principalities of Lignitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, ought by right immediately to revert to the King of Bohemia.

THIS was looked upon both by the Duke of Lignitz and Elector of Brandenburg as unjuſt; for that the treaty was neither prejudicial to the crown of Bohemia, nor derogatory from the infeoffment of the country of Lignitz, and its appurtenances. The elector maintained the validity of the treaty, and vindicated his right, acquired in ſo lawful a manner, with a reſolution to preſerve the ſame to his family; and kept the original acts, as authentic proofs of his right.

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THE male line of the Dukes of Lignitz becoming extinct, by the death of George-William, in the year 1675, the duchies of Lignitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, fell to the electoral houſe of Brandenburg. On this occaſion, the Elector Frederic-William, ſurnamed the Great, did not neglect repreſenting to the Imperial court the right he had to the ſucceſſion of Lignitz; and upon his reiterated ſollicitations, the Emperor Leopold ordered the Chancellor of Lignitz to examine into, and ſend him his opinion on the affair: but the chancellor's report being diſatisfactory to the Imperial court, in the years 1685 and 1686, endeavours were uſed for adjuſting the controverted rights by an agreement; and the Imperial court, to facilitate the means of obtaining it, conſented to deliver to the elector the circle of Schibus, ſituated in Sileſia, and the ceſſions of the Prince of Lichtenſtein's pretenſions to certain lordſhips of Eaſt-Frieſeland, amounting to great ſums. The offer was accepted, and a treaty was accordingly concluded; but at the ſame time as this convention was made with the Elector of Brandenburg, the Imperial miniſter ſecretly engaged the electoral prince his ſon, to promiſe, that upon his coming to the regency of the ſtates, he would reſtore all that was yielded up to the elector his father, and annul the convention that had been made after ſo many difficulties; and this miniſter having drawn up reverſals, or an act of ſecurity, to that purpoſe, after many importunities, obtained the electoral prince's hand to the ſaid reverſals; whereby the elector was deceived in the acquiſition of Schibus, and his ſon, by the greateſt artifice and invention, drawn into a private negotiation, to the prejudice of the whole electoral family. Frederic-William

William dying in the year 1686, his ſon Frederic III. ſucceeded him in the electorate, and afterwards became firſt King of Pruſſia. As ſoon as that prince had taken poſſeſſion of the regency, the houſe of Auſtria demanded the execution of what was contained in the reverſals; but the elector acquainting his miniſters of the tranſaction, deſired their opinion on the affair; and upon a mature deliberation, their advice was, "That "the reverſals in queſtion, being contrary to "the conventions made in the houſe of Brandenburg, and having been ſubreptitiouſly obtained, were neither binding according to "law, nor according to natural right." It was thus repreſented to the Auſtrian miniſtry, and the reverſals demanded back again: but the Chancellor of Bohemia, refuſing to deliver them, anſwered, "That if his electoral highneſs would "not reſtore the country of Schibus, it ſhould "be re-taken by force." Some years paſſed with fruitleſs ſollicitations, and nothing being determined in the affair of Schibus, at length the elector, growing weary of this whole negotiation, in the year 1695 re-delivered the country to the Imperialiſts, on payment of an inconſiderable ſum, without any renunciation of the four principalities of Jagurndorf, Lignitz, Brieg, and Wohlau. Therefore his Pruſſian majeſty affirmed, that as ſoon as the houſe of Auſtria re-entered on the poſſeſſion of Schibus, which had been ceded by it as an equivalent for thoſe duchies in Sileſia, the royal and electoral houſe of Pruſſia re-entered alſo to the rights ſhe had on thoſe duchies, which had been kept up by ſucceſſion; eſpecially as the houſe of Auſtria could not perform her promiſe in relation to the pretentions of the houſe of Lichtenſtein. And as a further conſideration for

CHAP. I. 1740.

the

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the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, to reſtore at leaſt to the houſe of Brandenburg the principalities and lordſhips in Sileſia that were devolved to it, his Pruſſian majeſty inſiſted, that thoſe duchies are hereditary eſtates only in the male line, and were never tranſmitted to the females; beſides thoſe ſtates had ſurrendered a formal homage to the houſe of Brandenburg: and as the electors had never been able to obtain redreſs, on account of the great power to which the houſe of Auſtria had arrived by ſitting on the Imperial throne; on the declenſion of their grandeur, his Pruſſian majeſty embraced the opportunity of aſſerting his rights.

CHAPTER II.

From the invaſion of SILESIA in December 1740, to the ſurrender of BRIEG in 1741; containing the ſiege of GLOGAW, and battle of MOLWITZ.

AS there were ſeveral claimants to diſpute the Imperial ſucceſſion, his Pruſſian majeſty, without conforming to the laws of the golden bull, by entering his claim to any part of Sileſia, and ſubmitting to the deciſion of the Imperial

perial diet, with the utmoſt celerity aſſembled an army at Berlin, and on the 4th of December 1740, entered Sileſia at the head of 30,000 men, when his majeſty made the following ſpeech to his troops: CHAP. II. 1740.

" Gentlemen, I do not conſider you as my ſub-
" jects, but as my friends; you have at all times
" given marks of unconquerable valour: I ſhall
" be preſent at all your enterprizes, and you
" ſhall fight under my direction: and as for any
" that ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves, by their cou-
" rage and zeal for my ſervice, I ſhall reward
" them, not as a king but as a father."

THOUGH his Pruſſian majeſty had thus put himſelf in a capacity of acquiring his claim in the field, he did not neglect to obtain an accommodation in the cabinet: for this purpoſe, the Count de Gotter and the Baron de Borck, his miniſters at the court of Vienna, purſuant to his inſtructions, grounded upon the apprehenſions of an attack on the Auſtrian dominions by the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria, laid the following propoſals before her Hungarian majeſty.

1ſt " THAT his Pruſſian majeſty was ready
" with all his forces, to guaranty the dominions
" poſſeſſed by the houſe of Auſtria in Germany,
" againſt all invaders.

2d " FOR this end he would enter into a ſtrict
" alliance with the courts of Vienna, Ruſſia, and
" the Maritime powers.

3d " HE would uſe all his intereſt to procure
" the Imperial dignity for the Duke of Lor-
" rain, and to ſupport his election againſt all
" oppoſers.

4th " To put the court of Vienna into a good
" ſtate of defence, he would immediately fur-
" niſh it with two millions of florins.

" AND

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" AND that for such substantial services, his " Prussian majesty expected the entire and abso- " lute cession of all Silesia; not only as his right, " but as his reward for the toils and hazards " which he might incur in the career that he " was entered upon, for the safety and glory of " the house of Austria."

THIS proposition was looked upon with equal concern and indignation by the court of Vienna; yet his Prussian majesty instructed the Count de Gotter, to be indefatigable in his endeavours to induce the court of Vienna, to look with less prejudice upon the plans and views his majesty had proposed to himself, for the welfare and security of the house of Austria; and to represent to the Duke of Lorrain, that although his majesty had demanded the entire cession of Silesia, he might perhaps make some abatement, and content himself with a part of that country; provided the Queen of Hungary would enter into a reasonable and sincere accommodation with him, and to contract strict engagements that might consist with their mutual interests. The king also authorized the Count de Gotter to declare verbally, that his Prussian majesty would be very ready to embrace every opportunity for assisting the Queen of Hungary to maintain the grandeur of her family, and satisfy her for the loss of Silesia.

FROM this the court of Vienna inferred, that his Prussian majesty founded the entrance of his troops into Silesia, upon the necessity of guaranteeing the house of Austria against some other powers ready to swallow it up; and on the expediency of sacrificing a part of their dominions for saving the rest: though it was evident that the queen's dominions enjoyed a perfect tranquility when

when his Pruſſian majeſty entered them ſword in hand. Her Hungarian majeſty, in her anſwer to the declarations of the Pruſſian miniſter, expreſſed all poſſible regard to the friendſhip of the King of Pruſſia, and was ſure ſhe could not be reproached with having neglected any opportunity to cultivate it; but without the leaſt infringement of that principle ſhe could not help remarking, "That the band, by which all the "members of the empire were united, founded "upon the cleareſt ſtipulation of the golden bull, "obliges them all, to aſſiſt any one of them, "who ſhall be attacked in the dominions which "make a part in the Germanic body; and "this was in effect the ſubſtance of his Pruſſian "majeſty's firſt propoſal; though it did not extend ſo far as the engagement reſulting from "the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction, with "which the whole empire was charged. The "queen gratefully acknowleged the good intentions of his Pruſſian majeſty, with regard "to the election of the emperor; but as the "election ought to be free, and to be made in "the manner preſcribed by the golden bull; ſo "ſhe was of opinion, that nothing had a greater "tendency to obſtruct it, than the diſturbances "raiſed in the heart of the empire. She alledged, "that what his Pruſſian majeſty had already "taken from Sileſia, under pretence of ſubſiſting his troops there, added to the immenſe "damage that reſulted from the ruin of the "country, ſurpaſſed the two millions offered her "majeſty by the King of Pruſſia.—Her ma"jeſty declared, that ſhe had no manner of in"tention to begin her reign by diſmembering her "dominions, and thought herſelf obliged in "honour and conſcience to maintain the prag-

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" matic ſanction againſt any infraction of it; " and from thence it followed, that ſhe could " not conſent to the entire ceſſion of Sileſia, or of " any part of that duchy. Nevertheleſs ſhe was " ſtill ready to renew the ſincereſt friendſhip " with the King of Pruſſia, provided it might " be done without ſuch infraction of the prag- " matic ſanction, and on the Pruſſian troops " immediately retiring from her dominions. " And that this, in her majeſty's opinion, was " the only method conſiſtent with equity and " juſtice, with the fundamental laws of the em- " pire, with the public welfare, and the bal- " lance of power in Europe; and was conſe- " quently the only ſtep that could be conducive " to the true glory of his Pruſſian majeſty. The " Queen moſt earneſtly intreated his Pruſſian " majeſty to embrace this method, and conjured " him to it by all the conſiderations that might " poſſibly make an impreſſion upon the heart of " a great prince."

POSSIBLY the refuſal of the Queen of Hungary, might have been animated on the great confidence ſhe repoſed in the aſſiſtance of his Britannic majeſty; ſince in compenſation for a releaſe of part of Sileſia, and to the reſtoration of a part of that duchy his Pruſſian majeſty had an indiſputable right, the king offered his whole force to continue her Hungarian majeſty in poſſeſſion of all the other dominions ſhe inherited from her father, together with his whole intereſt to ſet the grand duke upon the Imperial throne; which was a propoſal of the higheſt conſequence, and worthy of the moſt ready acceptance; but as it was then heard with reluctance, ſo the court of Vienna had afterwards an occaſion of condemning their own obſtinacy,

and

and after feeling the force of ſo puiſſant an enemy, at laſt found themſelves obliged to purchaſe his friendſhip on ſeverer terms than what he had formerly propoſed. CHAP. II. 1740.

His Pruſſian majeſty immediately diſpatched letters in juſtification of his conduct to the diet at Ratiſbon, and to his miniſters reſiding at foreign courts, repreſenting, "That his troops had not "entered Sileſia with any ill intention, but only "to ſecure from imminent danger his inconteſti-"ble right to that duchy. That he had no de-"ſign to prejudice any perſon, much leſs the "archiducal family of Auſtria, of which he "would give convincing proofs to all the world: "that he would do his utmoſt to maintain the "conſtitutions of the empire, and ſhould be "glad to employ his forces to preſerve the "rights, liberties, and privileges of all its mem-"bers and ſtates entire; and that the empire in "general might be ſecured againſt any man-"ner of invaſion, and furniſhed with a worthy "head."

The exerciſe of his Pruſſian majeſty's pen did not retard the preparations for the uſe of his ſword. As he had made a conſiderable progreſs in Sileſia without any oppoſition, he publiſhed a manifeſto, "Aſſuring the inhabitants of his fa-"vour and good will: and that by reaſon of the "extinction of the male line in the houſe of Auſ-"tria, that family was expoſed to many ſad "events, ſome of which had already manifeſted "themſelves, and others were on the point of "burſting out like a general conflagration, "wherein the duchy of Sileſia might happen to "be involved, the preſervation and proſperity "of which his majeſty always had the more at "heart, becauſe it ſerved as a bulwark for his

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" ſecurity, and that of his dominions in the empire; and to prevent ſuch as thought they had " a rightful claim to the hereditary dominions " of the houſe of Auſtria from invading Sileſia, " he had been obliged to march his forces into " this duchy, to cover it againſt any attack: " and as by ſo doing, he had no manner of intention to prejudice or diſoblige the Queen of " Hungary, with whom he had reſolved, and " earneſtly wiſhed, to maintain a ſtrict friendſhip, as well as with all the Auſtrian family, " and after the example of his predeceſſors to " contribute to their true intereſt and preſervation. Therefore the inhabitants of Sileſia " might be aſſured, that they had no hoſtility " to fear either from him or his troops; but " that on the contrary, they ſhould find the full " effects of his royal protection and powerful " ſupport, by being maintained in the enjoyment of their lawful rights and privileges. " And his majeſty firmly truſted, that theſe " gracious offers and declarations, would make " them cautious of doing or attempting any " thing, in any manner whatſoever againſt his " majeſty, and of undertaking any thing that " might oblige him hereafter, againſt his will, " to have a recourſe to other meaſures, which " might be attended with ſuch fatal conſequences as they could thank none but themſelves for."

To oppoſe the effects of this manifeſto, the Count Schaffgotſch, director of the regency of Sileſia, publiſhed a counter declaration, " That " as the queen was perſuaded that the King of " Pruſſia might have been induced to take this " ſtep by the advice of ſome evil-minded perſons, " ſhe hoped from the equity of that prince, that " he

" he would not deny to withdraw his troops; CHAP.
" and that if his Pruſſian majeſty refuſed to do II.
" ſo, the queen declared to her own ſubjects, 1740.
" and to thoſe of foreign powers who had any
" mortgage upon Sileſia, that ſhe could not
" take upon her to anſwer the evil conſequences
" which might reſult therefrom; proteſting,
" that ſhe never intended to conſent to the in-
" troducing any innovations in the duchy of Si-
" leſia."

THE Hungarian forces in Sileſia were too inconſiderable to oppoſe the rapid progreſs of his Pruſſian majeſty; and as very few of the towns were fortified, his army met with no oppoſition in their march, till they approached Great Glogaw, a ſtrong city on the Oder, near the confines of Poland, where Count Wenceſlaws Wallis commanded a ſmall Auſtrian garriſon, and refuſed the Pruſſians admittance, reſolving to defend the place to the laſt extremity. Therefore the King of Pruſſia, thinking it neceſſary to get to Breſlau, the capital of Sileſia, as ſoon as poſſible, left a body of his troops under the command of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Deſſau, to form the blockade of Glogaw, and proceeded with the main body of his army, conſiſting of about 25,000 men, to Breſlau. On the 22d of December, his majeſty entered that city, attended by only thirty of his life-guards, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy. He immediately promiſed the inhabitants that they ſhould enjoy all their antient privileges, particularly that of not having a garriſon in their city; upon condition however that his troops ſhould have a free paſſage through the city, that they ſhould lodge in the ſuburbs, be allowed to erect magazines there, and that the city ſhould

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engage to receive no Auſtrian garriſon: all which conditions they agreed to, and the more readily, as intimidated at the approach of ſo formidable an army. His majeſty likewiſe promiſed his indulgence and protection to the roman catholics of the whole province of Sileſia; but nevertheleſs, when he found any large magazines of corn or other proviſions in their religious houſes, he took the liberty to appropriate them to his own uſe, telling the recluſe devotees, "He never heard "that the apoſtles, whoſe example they pretend-"ed to follow, had ever any magazines." The Pruſſians triumphantly continued their march, without any blood being ſhed, till they arrived at the ſmall caſtle of Ottmachaw, ſituated near the river Neiſs, where there was an Auſtrian garriſon of five complete companies of grenadiers, in all about 250 men. A Pruſſian officer was ſent to ſummon the garriſon to ſurrender, and having advanced too near before he ordered the drummer to beat a parley, the Auſtrians fired, and ſhot the drummer and the officer's horſe dead upon the ſpot; but after a gallant reſiſtance of twenty-four hours, and the loſs of great part of their men, the brave Auſtrians were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. The Pruſſians in this attack loſt a major of engineers, and about forty private men. Near the ſame place, and about the ſame time, there was a ſkirmiſh between a party of Pruſſian huſſars, and Prince Lichtenſtein's regiment of dragoons, in which the Pruſſian lieutenant and ſeveral huſſars were cut to pieces; and afterwards, upon the approach of a large body of Pruſſians, the Auſtrians retired to the other ſide of the river Neiſs, where their troops grew daily more numerous, by the arrival of regiments from Hungary, Moravia,

ravia, and Bohemia, to form an army under the command of Count Neuperg, to oppoſe the King of Pruſſia; who thereupon ſent orders to Berlin for the march of ſeveral other regiments into Sileſia. CHAP. II.

ON the 7th of January his Pruſſian majeſty ſummoned the town of Neiſs to ſurrender; but the garriſon, inſtead of complying, fired upon the colonel and trumpeter who were ſent with the meſſage: whereupon the Pruſſians began to bombard the place, which they continued for three days; but from the inclemency of the weather, and deep ſnows, the ſoldiers could not form the ſiege, as the cold was too ſevere to permit them to live in trenches: therefore after the bombardment they retired, and the King of Pruſſia, with his brother Prince William, ſet out for Berlin, where they arrived the 18th of the ſame month, leaving the army in Sileſia to the command of the Velt-Marſhal Count Schwerin, who upon hearing that Lieutenant-General Brown, with a ſmall body of Auſtrian troops, had retreated towards Jagurndorf, continued his march in purſuit of the Auſtrians, and the latter having left Jagurndorf and taken poſt at Gratz upon the river Mora, the velt-marſhal attacked them upon the 14th, and after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, paſſed the river, and forced the enemy into Moravia. 1741.

THE Pruſſians having thus made themſelves maſters of Sileſia, as far as the frontiers of Moravia, except great Glogaw, Nieſs, and a few other places, which they could not beſiege during the ſeverity of the winter; they turned towards the ſouthernmoſt part of Sileſia, bordering upon Hungary; where, in the beginning of February, Major-General de la Motte, with a con-

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consiſderable detachment from the Pruſſian army, made himſelf maſter of Jablunčka, upon the river Elſe, near the Capathian mountains, after having granted the garriſon an honourable capitulation. Jablunčka is a ſtrong town with a good fortreſs, and from its near ſituation to Hungary, may be juſtly termed the key of Sileſia into that kingdom. The Pruſſians by this acquiſition, made themſelves maſters of the whole province of Sileſia, where they had already an army of 28,550 effective men, and thoſe ordered to be in readineſs to march thither, amounting to 5,650, when joined, would compoſe an army of 34,200 men.

THE rigour of the ſeaſon prevented the Pruſſians from carrying on their deſigns againſt the fortified places in Sileſia; but on the 10th of February his Pruſſian majeſty joined his army at Scheidweidnitz, where he fixed his head quarters; and after having concerted a plan for the attack of Glogaw with Prince Leopold, who commanded the troops that formed the blockade there, on the 24th of February, his majeſty ſent the prince orders to carry this plan into execution, by immediately attacking the town ſword in hand. Early the next morning his highneſs ſent for the commandants of the Pruſſian battallions, and declared to them, that the place muſt be taken the very next night. The diſpoſitions to be made for that purpoſe was given them in writing, and the captains that were to lead on the firſt detachments were ſhewed what places they were to enter at. During this interval of the attack, the Pruſſians cleaned and freſh charged their arms, and made every other diſpoſition with the leaſt poſſible noiſe: night came on; at eight o'clock the troops began to put themſelves under arms,

arms, and the prince, having prepared every thing for the purpoſe, ordered the troops to defile from the villages, where they were quartered, towards the town, where they arrived about ten, with the greateſt order and ſilence imaginable, unperceived by the garriſon. At three quarters after eleven, they all advanced very ſoftly to the foot of the glacis, where they arrived preciſely as the clock ſtruck twelve. That moment the troops, leaping over the firſt palliſadoes, flung themſelves into the covered way, and ſpreading to the right and left, killed or diſarmed every Auſtrian they found there. This gave the alarm, and the Pruſsians were expoſed to a fire from the ramparts, which at the ſame time alarmed the town; but this did not hinder the Pruſsians from puſhing on, for they inſtantly deſcended into the ditch, and advanced to the foot of the rampart, which was thirty-four foot high, with a ſlope of ten foot, and by conſequence very troubleſome to climb, eſpecially after a ſharp froſt of two days which made it very ſlippery footing; notwithſtanding which, and in ſpite of the fire from the top, the Pruſsians undertook the aſcent: Prince Leopold and the Margrave Charles, with five or ſix others, were the firſt that got to the top of the courtine, and were ſoon joined by the ſecond battalion of Prince Leopold's regiment, and four companies of grenadiers, one of which companies ſeized a baſtion on the right, and another did the ſame on the left; whilſt the prince, with the reſt that had got up, marched to the gate of the caſtle, which it was neceſſary to break open, and a dozen carpenters were ſet about it; but as ſoon as they had made ſome holes in the gate, there came a ſhower of bullets through from the grenadiers of the garriſon, who

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had poſted thither, headed by the Generals Wallis and Reyſki, but did not ſtay long, for Prince Leopold cauſing the fire to be returned through the ſame chaſms in the gate, General Reyſki received two wounds in the rim of his belly, the grenadiers fled with all ſpeed, and General Wallis was obliged to follow them; then the gate was laid open, and the Pruſsians entered with drums beating into the caſtle, and from thence into the town. Two other attacks having been carried on at the ſame time, and executed with the ſame vigour and diſpatch, the three detachments arrived together in the ſtreets of the city. All the reſiſtance that was made in the ramparts was defeated by the Pruſsians, with bayonets fixed at the end of their muſquets. The conſternation was very great among the garriſon, inſomuch that four Pruſsian grenadiers of Glaſinap's regiment, which were the laſt that came upon the ramparts, having miſſed their company, went to the right inſtead of the left, and came to the neck of a baſtion where one of the Auſtrian captains was poſted with fifty-two men: the Pruſsians, being a little ſurprized at firſt, thought of retreating; but on a ſudden they reſolved to act the part of deſperadoes, and attack them; accordingly they puſhed on with their bayonets, and called out to the Auſtrians to lay down their arms, which ſtruck them with ſuch a pannic, and being deceived by the darkneſs of the night, they obeyed; whereupon three of the grenadiers ſtood centry over them, while the fourth went to ſeek a reinforcement, which he ſoon found. While the Pruſsian grenadiers were clearing the ramparts, the battalions entered the town by the avenues which the former had opened, and ſeized the governor's main guard,

guard, with the colours, and all they found there; and as the garrison could afterwards make no resistance, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. This put an end to the whole affair: the Prussians observed such an exact discipline, that not a citizen was hurt, nor a house plundered, which very much added to the glory of the enterprize. This most extraordinary and glorious attempt was all performed in little more than an hours time. The loss of the Prussians was only about thirty or forty private men killed, and about fifty or sixty wounded, which was very inconsiderable in an assault of this kind. The Austrians lost about 150 men; and the prisoners taken upon this occasion, were the Generals Wallis and Reyski, of whom the latter was dangerously wounded; three colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, eleven captains, fourteen lieutenants, eight ensigns, one adjutant, one quarter-master, ninety-four serjeants, and 931 soldiers, of whom 286 entered into the Prussian service. The Prussians found in the place fifty brass cannon, a great quantity of powder, and the military chest, with 23,000 florins in it.

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NOTHING but the good-will, the vivacity and obedience of the Prussian troops, the disposition for the whole attack, and the good order with which it was executed, could have secured the Prussians from a loss much more considerable; for it is playing a desperate game to attack sword in hand, but the more so without cannon, and even without scaling-ladders, to assault a place regularly fortified with a good covered way, well palliſadoed, with chevaux de frise, besides another palliſado at the foot of a rampart thirty-four feet in height, very steep, and defended by a number of very fine pieces of ordnance; and

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all this with four battalions and eighteen companies of grenadiers. Prince Leopold commanded the firſt attack, and the Margrave Charles the ſecond, whoſe meaſures were ſo well concerted and conducted, that the centries did not ſee the Pruſsians till they had got over the palliſadoes. It is probable, that had the garriſon diſcovered the approach of the Pruſsians, and taken to their arms ſooner, the enterprize might have miſcarried; but the Pruſsian forces made ſuch extraordinary diſpatch, that they were actually on the march in the ſtreets, before the garriſon, who little expected ſuch an attack, were in a poſture to defend their ramparts.

BOTH the nobility and burghers performed homage to his Pruſsian majeſty, which was received by Prince Leopold and the Margrave Charles. His majeſty was ſo pleaſed at this expedition, that he ordered a treble diſcharge of the artillery, and the forces in the town, and appointed Te Deum to be ſung in all the churches the ſunday following.

THE reduction of this important place greatly facilitated the conqueſt of Sileſia, for Neiſs and Brieg were the two only places, of conſequence in Sileſia, unſubjected to the power of his Pruſſian majeſty.

THE Pruſſian ſtorm thus impending over the head of her Hungarian majeſty, though gloomy as the ſky ſeemed above her, and ruinous as the landſcape appeared below, there was ſtill an opening through which a ray of hope had room to flatter and ſooth her diſcontented mind; her dependance on the maritime powers, particularly his Britannic majeſty, inſpired her with a noble reſolution to repel the force of her enemies, and preſerve her dominions from the violation of

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so many invaders. For this purpose, soon after the surrender of Glogaw, the Austrian army assembled about Olmutz in Moravia, under the command of Count Neuperg; and having received advice that the King of Prussia intended to attack Brieg and Niess, it was thereupon resolved in a grand council of war, that the Austrian army should march into Silesia, and endeavour to prevent the loss of those two fortresses. Accordingly the army marched soon after, and his Prussian majesty being informed that they were advanced into Silesia, and marching directly towards him, he immediately drew together all the troops he could, and made the necessary dispositions for a battle. CHAP. II. 1741.

On monday the 10th of April the two armies met, and engaged at Molwitz, a village about a league to the north of Neiss. The battle began about two o'clock in the afternoon, and was sharp and bloody on both sides: in the beginning the Austrians drove back and put into disorder the left wing of the Prussians, at which Lieutenant-General Count Schulenbourg commanded, who had the misfortune to be killed at the first onset; but the confusion was soon redressed by some regiments of foot sent to support the right wing, and by the grenadiers which his Prussian majesty had intermixed with his horse, upon information that the Austrians were superior to him in cavalry. The attack on the Prussians right wing was as warm as that on the left, five squadrons of Schulenbourg's dragoons having been almost all destroyed. The regiment of carabineers of Count Wartinslebin suffered also very much, as did the first battalion of guards, which had sixteen officers killed or wounded out of twenty-five. The action lasted till six in the evening, when the Austrians thought proper to retire, which they did

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did in good order under the cannon of Nieſs, leaving the field of battle to the Pruſſians. The whole loſs of the Auſtrians, according to the Pruſſian account, was 4,000, killed, wounded, or taken priſoners; and of the Pruſsians about 600 killed, and 1,200 wounded: though the Auſtrians agreed pretty nearly with this account, as to the number they had killed and wounded, yet they reported that the Pruſsians loſt double the number. The officers of diſtinction killed and wounded in this battle, were, on the ſide of the Pruſsians, Lieutenant-General Count Schulenbourg, the Colonel Margrave Frederic of Brandenburg, Colonel Bork, Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald, the Majors Knobelſdorf and Seckendorf, Mr Mullendorf, one of his majeſty's pages, and the maſter of the king's houſhold, killed; Field-Marſhal Schwerin, the Lieutenant-Generals Marcwitz and Kleiſt, Major-General Margrave Charles of Brandenburg, the Colonels Prince William, brother to the margrave, Wartenſlebin, Rochau, and Fink, the king's aid de camp, and Major Bork, wounded. And on the ſide of the Auſtrians, the Generals Rimer and Goldi, the Colonel Count de Lanois, killed; Field-Marſhal Neuperg, the Generals Brown, Grune, Kaihl, Lentulus, Frankenberg, and Prince Birkenfeld, wounded.

THOUGH the Auſtrians were obliged to retire, and for want of horſes to leave ten pieces of cannon behind them, four of which they had taken from the Pruſſians at the beginning of the action, the Pruſſians had not much to boaſt of; and this was confirmed by the conſequences: for the Auſtrian army retired only behind the river Neiſs, where they encamped, and the King of Pruſſia did not think proper to attack them a ſecond time;

time; but after making himſelf maſter of all that part of Sileſia to the north of the river Neiſs, he continued encamped, ſometimes at one place, ſometimes at another, to the north of that river; and the Auſtrians continued in their camp, ſometimes upon the ſouth, and at other times on the north ſide of the ſame river: ſo that nothing but ſkirmiſhes happened for a conſiderable time between the two armies, though they were frequently within a few leagues, and ſometimes in ſight of each other: but on the 23d of April his Pruſſian majeſty appeared before the town of Brieg, and the garriſon, after a ſhort reſiſtance, ſurrendered on honourable terms.

CHAP. II. 1741.

CHAPTER III.

From the treaty of NYMPHENBURGH to the treaty of HANOVER.

WHEN France, in conjunction with Spain and Sardinia, in the year 1734, had raviſhed the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily from the emperor, and annexed thoſe two powerful dominions to the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Bourbon; ſhe reduced the forces of the houſe of Auſtria by 40,000 men, and two millions and a half of annual revenue, which were added to the oppoſite ſcale: ſhe now thought herſelf ſecure, of laying the foundation of ſuch debility in the houſe of Auſtria, as would at leaſt enable her

CHAP. III.

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her to reduce it lower when she pleased, if she should find occasion for it; and therefore thought it more prudent to lie by, after she had done this, till she might, by the emperor's death, have opportunity to break the Austrian Succession, and avail herself of the assistance of the German princes to undertake that then, which she had no pretence to attempt during his life; and which must have inevitably drawn those very powers of Germany against her, till that event happened. Much more she could not have done without their assistance: she had sown, in all appearance, a lasting discontent between the Empire and the Maritime Powers, disuniting the only alliance that could confine her aspiring views; she had it in her power to join Lorrain to her own dominions, bringing her territories above 150 miles more forward into Germany, and adding two kingdoms to another branch of the house of Bourbon: completing at the same time, an entire influence over four Electors of the Empire, Palatine, Mentz, Triers, and Cologne; the effects of which were afterwards visibly seen, by the election of the Duke of Bavaria to the Imperial throne in the year 1742. She was now enabled, at a much shorter warning, and with a much superior force to attack the Empire on the first favourable opportunity: and by declining any farther advantage for the present, she carried a shew of moderation and voluntary abstinence, which she knew would effectually deceive those who abound and strengthen her party, by their credulity in every state of Europe. Therefore, after thus concluding a peace with the emperor in 1736, she lay diligently improving her time for the total subversion of the power of the house of Austria,

tria. The period was arrived, France beheld with an eye of pleaſure, the preſent favourable opportunity of obſcuring the luſtre of the Auſtrian line; and advancing a poor and powerleſs prince, of her own nomination, to the imperial throne; as this would leave the Germanic body unable to enter into any alliances with Great Britain and Holland, to obſtruct the aſpiring views of her unlimitted ambition. CHAP. III. 1741.

THE annihilation of the houſe of Auſtria, was the ſtrongeſt foundation France could fix on, to raiſe her dazling ſuperſtructure of univerſal monarchy; ſhe had now the moſt favourable opportunity to accompliſh her reviving hopes, and was intently engaged to ſuppreſs the greatneſs of her long and natural competitor. The moſt potent princes of the Germanic ſyſtem, had time immemorially, founded pretenſions on the ſeveral parts of the Auſtrian dominions; but as the Imperial crown had been for ages, almoſt uninterruptedly, enjoyed by the houſe of Auſtria, they were deterred from aſſerting their claims by the too formidable power of that family: and now excited by the policy, and inſinuations, of France, ſeized on the fatal period of avowing their pretenſions, and diſmembering the imperial houſe of Auſtria of her moſt conſiderable poſſeſſions. The moſt natural allies of the houſe of Auſtria, were certainly Great Britain and the States General; the union of theſe three powers having always been the grand oppoſition againſt the pride and ambition of France; for which they had not only long preſerved defenſive alliances, but in the ſafety and preſervation of each other, they were, even abſtractedly from theſe alliances, as nearly and eſſentially concerned as in their own: yet as Great Britain

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was engaged in a war with Spain, and the miniſtry of London retaining an unworthy timidity of the force and menaces of France, the miniſtry of Verſailles imagined the Britiſh government would be very parſimonious in their aſſiſtance to the Queen of Hungary, and dreaded little interruption in their aſpiring projects, from a miniſtry who had but lately given too declarative proofs of their pacific adminiſtration. Nor did they apprehend any greater danger from the Dutch; for though this republic, by their alliances with the houſe of Auſtria, were obliged to furniſh not only a limitted ſuccour, but alſo their whole force in caſe of neceſſity, and even to declare war with her aggreſſor, yet the French miniſtry knew the ſtates were much embarraſſed with debts, and too intractable to be eaſily induced to give them an increaſe. In this ſituation the Queen of Hungary lay expoſed to the envy and invidious artifices of France, for that power to plume herſelf with the ſpoils of the imperial eagle, and mount with the omnipotence of antient Rome, to the utmoſt ſublimity of human ambition.

THE French miniſter at Vienna, during the diſturbances in Sileſia, continued to give the queen the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the good intentions of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty; though at the ſame time the French miniſtry privately, in conjunction with the Elector of Bavaria, were undermining the noble column that ſupported the grandeur of the houſe of Auſtria.

FOR this purpoſe, Marſhal Belleiſle had projected a ſcheme, to advance the Elector of Bavaria into the Imperial throne, and to ſtrip the houſe of Auſtria of her hereditary dominions: it gained the approbation of the French miniſtry, and the

the marſhal ſet out for Paris, authorized with full powers, and furniſhed with large ſums of money, to combine the electors, and other princes of the empire, in the views of France. The marſhal, having influenced the three ſpiritual Electors of Triers, Mentz, and Cologne, and the Elector Palatine, to the French intereſt, he arrived at Munich, and waiting on the Elector of Bavaria, at his Palace of Nymphenburgh, concluded a treaty there, between the French King and the elector; whereby his majeſty engaged, "To get the elector acknowledged emperor, "and to aſſiſt him in caſe of oppoſition with his "whole force. And in return, the elector ſti-"pulated, if he came to the Imperial throne, "that he would never attempt to recover any "of the Imperial towns or provinces conquered "by France, unleſs the king ſhould be inclined "to reſtore them; and if ſo, the elector was to "re-imburſe his majeſty forty-five millions of "livres, for his expences in ſupporting the elec-"tion. The elector alſo promiſed to renounce "the barrier treaty, and agreed, that whatever "conqueſts France ſhould make in the Nether-"lands, ſhe ſhould irrevocably keep." To this treaty the Kings of Pruſſia and Poland were to be invited to accede. On which the marſhal repaired to Sileſia, and congratulated his Pruſſian majeſty on his ſucceſſes; and as the king cauſed his army to paſs in review before the marſhal, and treated him with high marks of diſtinction, probably this interview drew his Pruſſian majeſty's inclinations to coincide with the projects of France. The marſhal afterwards viſited the court of Dreſden, and biaſſed the Elector of Saxony to his ſcheme. But the court of Verſailles, to cover their perfidy with ſomething like

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a maſk of decency, did not diſcloſe the French harpy all at once; they counſelled, adviſed, and mediated for peace ſake, out of a pretended concern for her Hungarian majeſty; but their modeſt propoſals aimed at nothing leſs, than to portion out the hereditary dominions of Auſtria as they pleaſed; a province to one, a province to another, and to ſecure a proper reſerve for themſelves. Though the Queen of Hungary was deſtitute of power, ſhe was not void of underſtanding; therefore to be thus inſulted under the pretence of being ſerved, could not fail of exciting a proper indignation: but an impotent reſentment, could anſwer no other end, than to expoſe herſelf to the inveteracy of a power, whoſe invariable maxim it has been, for the ſake of intereſt, to ſacrifice her moſt ſolemn engagements. But the meaſure of her Hungarian majeſty's calamity was not yet full; the Queen of Spain, like another Semiramis in ambition, having apparently reſolved to be the mother of none but kings, made it the buſineſs of her life to create new monarchies, and beſtow them upon her ſons. To this royal frenzy all conſiderations gave way; the repoſe of her huſband, the wealth and ſafety of her ſubjects, the ſoftneſs of her ſex, ſenſe of ſame, the remonſtrances of juſtice, the cries of compaſſion, and whatever elſe ſhould be of weight to reſtrain the extravagancies, and create the grace and decorum, of human life. With a malignant tranſport, therefore, ſhe ſaw the Imperial family at the laſt extremity, and the empire itſelf without a head. It was the criſis ſhe had impatiently waited for, and had pre-determined to improve to the utmoſt: ſhe longed to faſten on the Auſtrian dominions in Italy; a country in itſelf deſirable, cantoned out in little diſtricts,

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subject to continual revolutions, and at the mercy of every powerful invader. Instigated to these ambitious views by the court of France, the sooner to accelerate the destiny of her Hungarian majesty, the court of Spain published a memorial, alledging the pretensions of that crown to all the dominions possessed by the late emperor; and Don Carpentero, secretary of the Spanish embassy at Vienna, on the 8th of January delivered, to Count Zintzendorff, a protest, setting forth in substance, "That his Catholic majesty having a good claim "to the succession of the late emperor, and be- "ing resolved to maintain the same, solemnly "protested against every thing that might be "done contrary thereto." And on the day following the secretary departed from Vienna on his return to Spain. Thus the unhappy Queen of Hungary, before she had been invested with the royal purple, or her head inclosed with the golden diadem, and her hand experienced the incumbrance of a sceptre, was, like a young and beauteous fawn, surrounded with a troop of wolves, all rapacious and eager to devour so fair a prey. Incompassed with enemies, the distressed queen cast her eyes abroad, to seek that protection she had reason to expect from the good intentions of his Britannic majesty, who by his guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, was obliged to furnish her with 12,000 men; and whole predecessors made it their glory to hold the ballance of power, to concenter the interest of half the princes of Christendom, and be themselves the life and spirit that animated and directed the whole confederacy. On this monarch did the heiress of Austria rely for consolation, succour, and deliverance; and having by letter, dated the 29th of December, notified the Prus-

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sian invasion to the British court, she received an answer from his Britannic majesty in February following, wherein it was mentioned, "That "there ought not to be the least derogation "from the faith of solemn treaties; that his "majesty would endeavour to persuade the "King of Prussia to desist from his hostile en- "terprizes; and that if he did not, his Britan- "nic majesty would faithfully and religiously "perform the treaties that obliged him to assist "the house of Austria." And the Dutch, through the sollicitations of Mr Trevor, the British minister at the Hague, having expressed their concurrence to promote the intentions of his Britannic majesty in supporting the house of Austria; they both advised the Queen of Hungary by friendly representations, to endeavour to prevail upon the King of Prussia to desist from his enterprize; and promised, if that should not succeed, to deter him from the prosecution of it, by declaring their joint resolution to fulfil their engagements to the court of Vienna; and, if neither of those methods should prove sufficient, they assured the queen, that they would proceed to oblige that prince by force of arms to withdraw his troops from Silesia. The Austrian minister at London was at the same time informed, that his Britannic majesty was resolved to perform his engagements to the Queen of Hungary, as soon as a proper plan for the military operations could be settled; and this assurance was repeated by the British minister at the court of Vienna.

His Britannic majesty, further to manifest his attachment to the house of Austria, in his speech from the throne on the 8th of April, declared to both houses of Parliament, "That at the open-

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" ing of the seſſions, he took notice to them of CHAP.
" the death of the late emperor, and of his re- III.
" ſolution to adhere to the engagements he was
" under, in order to the maintaining of the bal- 1741.
" lance of power, and the liberty of Europe, on
" that important occaſion. That the aſſurances he
" received from them, in return to this commu-
" nication, were perfectly agreeable to the zeal
" and vigour which that parliament had always
" exerted, in the ſupport of the honour and in-
" tereſt of his crown and kingdoms, and of the
" common cauſe. That the war which had
" ſince broke out, and been carried on in part
" of the Auſtrian dominions, and the various
" and extenſive claims which were publickly
" made on the late emperor's ſucceſſion, were
" new events that required the utmoſt care and
" attention, as they might involve all Europe
" in a bloody war; and in conſequence, expoſe
" the dominions of ſuch princes as ſhould take
" part in ſupport of the pragmatic ſanction, to
" imminent and immediate danger. That the
" Queen of Hungary had already made a requi-
" ſition of the 12,000 men expreſly ſtipulated
" by treaty; and thereupon his majeſty had de-
" manded of the King of Denmark, and of the
" King of Sweden, as Landgrave of Heſſe Caſ-
" ſel, their reſpective bodies of troops, conſiſt-
" ing of 6,000 men each, to be in readineſs to
" march forthwith to the aſſiſtance of her Hun-
" garian majeſty. That his majeſty was alſo
" concerting ſuch further meaſures, as might
" obviate and diſappoint all dangerous deſigns
" and attempts that might be forming or carried
" on, in favour of any unjuſt pretenſions, to the
" prejudice of the houſe of Auſtria. That in
" this complicated and uncertain ſtate of things,

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" many incidents might arise, during the time,
" when by reason of the approaching conclusion
" of the parliament, it might be impossible for
" his majesty to have their advice and assistance,
" which might make it necessary for him to
" enter into still larger expences for maintaining
" the pragmatic sanction. In a juncture so cri-
" tical, his majesty had thought it proper to lay
" these important circumstances before them,
" and to desire the concurrence of his parlia-
" ment, in enabling him to contribute, in the
" most effectual manner, to the support of the
" Queen of Hungary, the preventing, by all
" reasonable means, the subversion of the house
" of Austria, and to the maintaining the liberties
" and ballance of power in Europe. And his
" majesty recommended it to his parliament, to
" grant him such a supply as might be requisite
" for these ends."

On the 10th of April both houses of parliament presented their respective addresses to his majesty, and declared, " They were highly sen-
" sible of his majesty's royal wisdom, in the re-
" solution he had been pleased to declare for
" the maintenance of the pragmatic sanction,
" and the assistance of the Queen of Hungary."
Both houses assured his majesty, " That in any
" future events, which might arise from such an
" uncertain state of things, and which might
" make it necessary for his majesty to enter into
" still larger expences in so just a cause, his ma-
" jesty might depend on their zealous and chear-
" ful concurrence, in enabling his majesty to
" contribute in the most effectual manner to the
" support of the Queen of Hungary, to prevent
" the subversion of the house of Austria, the an-
" tient and natural ally of the British crown, to
" the

" the maintaining the pragmatic ſanction, and " the liberties and ballance of Europe." And his majeſty alſo received the aſſurances of both houſes, " That if any part of his dominions, although " not belonging to the crown of Great Britain, " ſhould be attacked or inſulted by any prince " or power, in reſentment of the juſt and neceſ- " ſary meaſures which his majeſty had taken, or " ſhould take, for maintaining the pragmatic " ſanction; that in juſtice, and in vindication " of the honour and dignity of the Britiſh " crown, they were determined to exert them- " ſelves to the utmoſt, in defending and pro- " tecting ſuch dominion from any ſuch attacks " or inſults." CHAP. III. 1741.

ON the 13th of April the parliament voted the Queen of Hungary a ſupply of 300,000*l.* and 10,000 of the Britiſh forces, with a train of artillery, were ordered to embark for Flanders for her aſſiſtance. On the 6th day of May his Britannic majeſty, declaring his intentions of viſiting his German dominions, nominated in council, his grace the Arch-biſhop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Richmond, Grafton, Bolton, Devonſhire, Montagu, Newcaſtle, and Dorſet; the Earls of Pembroke, Wilmington, and Iſlay; the Lords Hervey, and Harrington; Sir Robert Walpole, and Sir Charles Wager, to be lords of the regency in his majeſty's abſence; and the ſame day his majeſty embarked at Graveſend, landed in Holland the 8th, and arrived in his Hanoverian dominions on the 12th.

THE Queen of Hungary, from the reſolutions of the Britiſh parliament, was elated with the proſpect of a ſpeedy relief; and ſhe had reaſon to expect a formidable aſſiſtance from the court of Ruſſia, as the grand ducheſs, regent of that

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considerable empire, had promised to succour her majesty with 40,000 Tartars, Cossacks, and Calmucks, which in order to divert the King of Prussia, were immediately to enter into his kingdom, and live there at discretion, until the Prussian troops should retire from Silesia; and accordingly, in February ten Russian regiments were sent into Courland, where they were kept in continual readiness to march through Poland to the assistance of her Hungarian majesty; but the other powers who had guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, through the artifices of the court of France, had not made the least advance towards defending and securing the liberties and dignity of the Austrian family.

SANGUINE were the expectations of the Austrian ministry, from the arrival of his Britannic majesty in Germany; though at the same time they apprehended other schemes between France and Bavaria, and were truly sensible of the approaching danger from such an alliance. For his Britannic majesty and the Dutch, encouraged the queen to insist upon it, as a preliminary in any agreement to be made between her and the King of Prussia, that the Prussian troops should withdraw from Silesia; and even promised her hopes of their assistance, if he refused to comply.

IN pursuance of this and the former resolution, the Earl of Hyndford, as minister plenipotentiary from his Brittanic to his Prussian majesty, began his negociations with requesting the King of Prussia to desist from his enterprize in Silesia. And in pursuance of this scheme, on the 19th of June, a memorial was presented to his Prussian majesty, by the Major-General Baron de Ginckel, envoy extraordinary from the States General,

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in conjunction with the Earl of Hyndford, re- CHAP.
preſenting "That their High Mightineſſes, as III.
"well as his Britannic majeſty, could not ſee, 1741.
"but with the utmoſt regret, the troubles be-
"tween their Pruſſian and Hungarian majeſties;
"and that they could not refrain from making
"the ſtrongeſt inſtances to his Pruſſian majeſty,
"to prevail upon him to withdraw his troops
"from Sileſia, and thereby pave the way to a
"laſting accommodation, as well as to reſtore
"peace to the empire, at a juncture when union
"was ſo neceſſary among powers that had any
"regard for its repoſe; and for this purpoſe
"their High Mightineſſes, as well as his Britan-
"nic majeſty, would employ their interceſſion
"with all the ardour and affection they were
"capable of. That their High Mightineſſes
"and his Britannic majeſty, were under a ne-
"ceſſity to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly on this demand,
"and to do all that lay in their power to gain
"the conſent of his Pruſſian majeſty thereto;
"and that nothing could be more diſagreeable
"to them, than to find themſelves obliged to
"fulfil engagements, in an affair in which his
"Pruſſian majeſty and the Queen of Hungary
"were oppoſite parties."

To this memorial the Count de Podewels, by order of his Pruſsian majeſty, on the 26th of June returned an anſwer, importing, "That "his Pruſsian majeſty had from time to time "made advantageous propoſals to the Queen of "Hungary, but the king had ſeen with regret, "that far from having the leaſt regard ſhewn "to them, the court of Vienna had rejected "them with diſdain; and that it would not be "his fault, if thoſe differences were not ſoon "terminated in a proper manner; hoping from

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" the friendſhip and equity of his Britannic ma-
" jeſty and their High Mightineſſes, that in em-
" ploying their good offices to attain ſo ſalutary
" an end, they would never ſwerve from the
" impartiality ſuch a work required, much leſs
" to exact conditions of the king, that might be
" incompatible with his honour, and the indiſ-
" putable rights of his royal houſe." Indeed his Pruſſian majeſty was always inclined to accommodate the diſputes ſubſiſting between him and the Queen of Hungary; for after the battle of Molwitz, he declared by his miniſters at the ſeveral courts of the empire, " That his victory
" there had made no alteration in his affection
" to the houſe of Auſtria; that he did not mean
" to take advantage from that ſucceſs for pre-
" ſcribing ſuch terms as that court might think
" too hard, but adhered to thoſe which he had
" already made known; and that if the Queen
" of Hungary, as he deſired ſhe might, would
" hearken to an accommodation, ſhe would al-
" ways find him diſpoſed to facilitate it as much
" as lay in his power." And the more to manifeſt his intentions, his Pruſſian majeſty wrote a letter with his own hand to the Queen of Hungary, wherein he propoſed an accommodation, and ſet down the conditions upon which he would agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms; but her Hungarian majeſty ſtill inſiſted upon his withdrawing his troops, as an indiſpenſible preliminary article, and this demand being afterwards reiterated by the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters, and his Pruſſian majeſty being ſtrongly ſollicited to join in a contrary intereſt, with France and Bavaria, he from that time probably began to think of purſuing other meaſures.

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As the King of Pruſsia had reduced his demand at the court of Vienna, and propoſed the lower Sileſia, with the town of Breſlaw, being left to him, either by way of mortgage or otherwiſe, in recompence of his pretenſions to the ſeveral diſtricts he had claimed as his right in the duchy; for which he would not only engage to aſſiſt the Queen of Hungary with his whole force, for the preſervation of the reſt of the late emperor's ſucceſſion; but alſo to give his vote and beſt aſſiſtance to the grand duke, for procuring to him the Imperial crown; and be ready to enter into the ſtricteſt engagements with her majeſty, the Maritime powers, Ruſſia, and ſuch other princes as ſhould be diſpoſed to maintain the pragmatic ſanction in its full extent: and had for this purpoſe requeſted the mediation of his Britannic majeſty, who as he looked upon himſelf as a party from his engagement to the late emperor, could not accept of it, but willingly offered to employ his good offices for bringing about an accommodation between princes, whoſe particular intereſts, as well as thoſe of Europe in general, required their being united; but at the ſame time declared his ſentiments to the Queen of Hungary, that although he had long been far from adviſing the making any conceſſions to the King of Pruſſia, whilſt there were any poſſible grounds to hope to be able to reduce that prince to reaſon by forcible means; yet, as appearances then were, he recommended it to the queen, to adjuſt matters without the leaſt loſs of time with the King of Pruſſia, upon the conditions he had laſt propoſed; alſo exhorting her majeſty ſeriouſly to endeavour to gain, at the ſame time, the Elector of Saxony, which might be poſſibly brought about by ſome ſmall conceſſions made him in Luſatia,

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ſatia, being what that prince had long kept at heart, and was in treaty about with the late emperor. But the court of Vienna inflexibly perſiſted in their firſt reſolution, to enter into no accommodation, without the previous abandoning of Sileſia by the Pruſſians; though at the ſame time they knew, that France and Bavaria were ſolliciting the alliance of Pruſſia; and this refuſal was the more impolitic, as Spain and Bavaria had openly avowed their ill intentions againſt the houſe of Auſtria, France was very much ſuſpected, the diſpoſitions of Pruſſia and Saxony were doubtful, and this joined to the timidity and irreſolution of the Dutch, ſhould have prevailed on the court of Vienna to have complied with the propoſals of his Pruſſian majeſty, and have ſecured ſo powerful a confederate from France and Bavaria.

THE army of his Pruſſian majeſty, after the ſurrender of Brieg, continued in the camp at Molwitz till the 14th of May; when the baggage, with part of the army, marched to a new camp that had been marked out at Grotkau, within a league of Neiſs; and next day were followed by the king, and the reſt of the army. From this march a ſecond battle was expected; but as Count Neuperg with the Auſtrian army continued in their camp on the other ſide of the river Neiſs, and had ſo fortified themſelves in that camp, that it was dangerous to attack them, the Pruſſians, after ſtaying a few days at Grotkau, returned to their camp at Molwitz, and from thence to a camp near the village of Herinſdorff; after having made a general forage in all the villages on that ſide the river, in order to deprive the Auſtrians of all manner of ſubſiſtance.

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THE inconſiderable operations of the Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies after the battle of Molwitz, ſeems very extraordinary; though probably the hopes of a reconciliation with his Pruſſian majeſty by the negociation of the Maritime powers, was the reaſon of the Queen of Hungary's inactivity; and perhaps the King of Pruſſia was deterred from adventuring another battle, by the probability he perceived of procuring his ends, either by a compoſition with that princeſs, or by joining his forces with the arms of France, which he was determined to do, if her Hungarian majeſty retained her inflexibility with regard to his demands on Sileſia: and finding all his remonſtrances, to the court of Vienna on this head, entirely diſregarded; and entertaining a ſuſpicion of an attack from his neighbours the Hanoverians, as well as Saxons; his Pruſſian majeſty had taken early precautions from being incommoded on that ſide, by aſſembling an army of obſervation, conſiſting of 36,000 men, under Prince Anhalt de Deſſau, who formed an encampment between Brandenbourg and Magdebourg, on the river Havel, about the beginning of May. But as nothing was attempted againſt his Pruſſian majeſty on that ſide, the army continued quiet in their camp till about the middle of October, when they ſeparated and marched into winter quarters; all danger of an attack on that ſide being then fully removed. This army was very prudently aſſembled, for his Pruſſian majeſty had been apprized of a ſcheme for forming an alliance between Great Britain, Muſcovy, Saxony, Holland and Hanover, for attacking and dividing his Pruſſian dominions amongſt them; and that each party was to keep what he could conquer: this juſtly incenſed his Pruſſian majeſty,

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and

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and he determined to protect himself by uniting in the interests of France. That such a project had been concerted, with the hopes of making an addition to the electorate of Hanover, at the expence of Prussia, and even transmitted to Vienna, where it was drawn up in the form of a treaty, is not to be contradicted; but the contracting parties having received certain information, that France was preparing to throw off the mask, and that a treaty was far advanced between Prussia and France, this made the scheme against Prussia absolutely impracticable: and on his Britannic majesty's arrival at Hanover, the warlike preparations, intended for the support of the Queen of Hungary, began to slacken; and instead of assisting her when she was in the most imminent danger, the march of the 12,000 Danes and Hessians was countermanded, and the embarkation of the British troops for Flanders suspended.

THE month of August was ushered in with a a declaration from his most Christian majesty, publickly dispersed about at Francfort, "That "some electors and princes of the empire had "made known to his majesty, as guarantee of the "the treaty of Westphalia, their uneasiness at "the King of Great Britain's assembling a con-"siderable body of troops, which might possibly "be made use of to influence the approaching "election of an emperor, or be employed a-"gainst some member of the empire. That "therefore, in order to make good his engage-"ments, he had caused some troops to advance "towards the Rhine, to the end that they might "be ready to march in case of need, to the suc-"cour of the electors and princes who should "claim his guaranty; and that this step ought

"not

" not be considered as tending to act contrary CHAP.
" to the pragmatic sanction; but as having III.
" solely in view the preservation of the tranqui- ⌣
" lity of Germany and the protecting the free- 1741.
" dom of the election of an emperor." At the same time the ministry of Versailles more privately pretended, that the support of the equilibrium of Europe, was the formal reason that engaged France to maintain the Elector of Bavaria in his pretensions on the Austrian succession; because they believed, that otherwise this equilibrium would be entirely destroyed; above all, with respect to the liberty and independency of the German empire, if the Imperial crown should be rendered hereditary in the female line of the house of Austria, which would always continue to aggrandize itself by marriage, or otherwise, and add thereby new territories to their already so far extended dominions. What an ungenerous and perfidious disavowal was this, of the pragmatic sanction, to which France had acceeded with the utmost solemnity? If the faith of treaties are thus unconscientiously disregarded and renounced, who can rely on the sacred pledge of royalty? Where is national confidence and friendship to be placed? To what remote part of the wide universe must mankind resort, to find out that cement of truth and honour, which inviolably preserved, unites the various nations of the world in harmony, love, and peace! Though the standing force of France had long consisted of 140,000 foot, and 20,000 horse, and the infantry had been lately augmented to 178,000, and the cavalry to 41,000, in all 219,000 men; yet great as the power of France really appeared, it was not substantially this, but the fame and opinion of her potency, that had so long support-

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ed her in her ambitious views; that had enabled her to trample upon the rights and liberties of all Europe; and to ſport with the moſt ſacred ties of truth, and faith of treaties: it was this that encouraged her, after ſo many ſolemn declarations in the laſt German war that ſhe would acquire nothing, to graſp that mighty acquiſition of Lorrain, which annually increaſed her treaſury with a million of livres, and is capable of augmenting her armies with 30,000 men; and it was this that induced her thus ſtrenuouſly to violate her engagements to the pragmatic ſanction, which were the very conditions of that acquiſition; it was this opinion of her power, that terrified every potentate in Europe into a ſubmiſſion to all her indignities, under the proſpect of thoſe chains ſhe was forging for all the European world.

BUT the King of Pruſſia, imagining from the behaviour of both France and Bavaria, that the latter might continue proteſting, and the former profeſſing, but that neither of them would actually attack the Queen of Hungary, unleſs he previouſly joined in an alliance with them; and apprehending, if he did not, that he would be at laſt overpowered; this induced him to conclude a treaty with France, dated the 28th of Auguſt, to which the Elector of Bavaria, and afterwards the King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, acceeded; whereby it was agreed, "To "overrun the Auſtrian dominions; and on a "partition among the conquerors, that the "kingdom of Bohemia, with the upper Auſtria "and Tirol, ſhould be given to the Duke of "Bavaria; the upper Sileſia and Moravia, to "the Elector of Saxony; and the lower Sileſia, "with the town and territory of Neiſs, and

"the

" the town and county of Glatz, to the King " of Pruſſia." Immediately on the concluſion of this treaty, the French threw off the maſk; and the Elector of Bavaria, no longer in dread of an alliance between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, which had occaſioned him to loſe the whole ſummer at ſuch a critical conjuncture, commenced his military operations by aſſembling his forces, conſiſting of 30,000 men, in a camp marked out for them near Scharding, where they were ſoon after joined by an army of 40,000 French, under the command of the Marſhals Broglio and Belleiſle, who had paſſed the Rhine at fort Louis, and entered Bavaria: at the ſame time the elector received a patent, appointing him lieutenant-general, with full power and authority to command the French auxiliary army in Germany, wherever there ſhould be occaſion. The elector, being thus at the head of 70,000 men, advanced towards the Danube; and on the 31ſt of July, ſurprized and took poſſeſſion of Paſſaw, a ſtrong city, ſituate at the confluence of the Danube, Inn, and Ilts, belonging to Cardinal Lemberg, biſhop of that ſee; which ſtep, though it was no direct attack on the Queen of Hungary, yet as that city was the key from Bavaria into upper Auſtria, it was a plain indication of what afterwards followed, in purſuance of the declaration of war made by the elector about the end of Auguſt.

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ANOTHER body of French troops, conſiſting of 35,000 men, commanded by Marſhal Maillebois, on a pretence, as guarantees to ſecure the eventual ſucceſſion of the duchies of Juliers and Berg in favour of the young Prince of Sultzbach, nephew to the Elector Palatine, quitted their camp at Sedan, a town of Champagne in

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France; and on the 19th of Auguſt entered Givet, in the territories of Liege; where they were augmented by a body of Palatine troops, and another of thoſe of the Elector of Cologn, who had both declared to aſſiſt the Duke of Bavaria to aſcend the Imperial throne: but as the French miniſter at Manheim had negociated a treaty, which finally determined all the differences between the King of Pruſſia and the Elector Palatine, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion of Juliers and Berg, the deſtination of theſe troops remained a ſecret, till they had entered ſo far into Weſtphalia, as to appear on the frontiers of Hanover. By this they effected three great ends; they diverted all the Hanoverian forces from the aſſiſtance of the general cauſe; they kept the Dutch in awe; and prevented the conjunction of the troops of England and of Auſtria in the Low Countries, with thoſe of Hanover; and thoſe of both the former with the Dutch. The views of France were, to frighten the miniſtry of Hanover into a neutrality: the whole of the electoral forces compoſed a body of no more than 26,000 men; theſe were too inſufficient to oppoſe ſuch a numerous army; and the King of Pruſſia having another conſiderable body of troops upon the other ſide of the Hanoverian dominions, ſo conveniently poſted, that the greateſt part of the electorate might have been deſtroyed by it in four and twenty hours: when it was too late, the miniſtry found the fatal conſequences of the King of Pruſſia's alliance with France.

In theſe circumſtances, the miniſters of Hanover were obliged to think of neutral meaſures; and towards the end of Auguſt, the Baron de Bardenberg was diſpatched away to Paris to negociate a neutrality: but as the French were then

then ſolliciting the Dutch to enter into a neutral treaty; they kept this negociation a profound ſecret from the Dutch, becauſe if they had accepted of the neutrality offered them, it might have been difficult to have obtained any ſort of neutrality for Hanover, without publickly inſerting ſuch articles as would have been very diſagreeable to the Britiſh nation. However ſome confuſed accounts of this negotiation, carrying on at Paris and Hanover, were whiſpered about, perhaps artfully by the miniſters of France; for the defeating of which, the Hanoverian miniſter at Ratiſbon, publickly declared about the 20th of Auguſt, "That his maſter was taking ſuch "meaſures as would ſoon enable him, not only "to defend himſelf, but to act offenſively; and "that he was reſolved to defend, with all his "force, the liberty of the Germanic body." And the Britiſh miniſter at the Hague, upon being aſked the queſtion by ſome of the ſtates deputies, even about the middle of September, declared "That he had received an expreſs, which "entirely contradicted thoſe reports." Theſe public declarations made moſt people believe that there was really no ground for any ſuch reports; and therefore the world was very much ſurprized, when they were certified by the Hanover gazette, that a convention for the neutrality of that electorate, was ſigned there upon the 16th of September.

CHAP. III. 1741.

As ſoon as the news of this ſurprizing event had reached Vienna, a general conſternation ſeized the whole court; for neither the perfidy of France, the arms of Pruſſia, the pretenſions of Bavaria, the ambitious cruelty of the Queen of Spain, nor the dread of Saxony in conjunction, could have ſo much alarmed or terrified the queen.

PART II. queen. At a time when her confederate enemies, like ſo many blood-hounds, were hunting her down through her fair poſſeſſions; when ſhe 1741. expected a powerful diverſion to be made in her favour; and that her troops would be enabled to meet her enemies on an equal footing; to ſee herſelf abandoned at ſuch a melancholly juncture, and to find all the hopes of her huſband to the Imperial crown, who had ſacrificed his own hereditary dominions to a dream of greatneſs, complimented away, was a reverſe of fortune ſo ſudden and unprepared, as required more than the patience of a woman to endure, and the courage of a hero to ſurmount.

CHAPTER IV.

Military operations between the FRENCH, BAVARIANS, PRUSSIANS, and SAXONS, againſt the Queen of HUNGARY in AUSTRIA, BOHEMIA, SILESIA, and MORAVIA; and alſo by the SPANIARDS in ITALY.

CHAP. IV. DURING this time, nothing extraordinary happened between the Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies in Sileſia. But his Pruſſian majeſty, to prevent the neceſſity of entering into an alliance

alliance with France, though plumed with success, having offered to sheath the sword, and determine all his disputes with the house of Austria by an amicable treaty, upon condition of obtaining only what he claimed and insisted on as his right, when he first commenced hostilities; and finding his sollicitations for so salutary an end, wholly frustrated by the court of Vienna, who, to their former objections, alledged another reason for not complying with the demands of the Prussian king, which was, "That Silesia was one "of the richest and most fertile countries belonging to the house of Austria, and from its proximity and other circumstances, contributed "more to its strength, than any other of the "more distant provinces; and that it was improper and impolitic to transfer a catholic "country to a protestant prince." His majesty, since his engagement with France and Bavaria, retaliated this usage; and in his turn, though now strongly sollicited by the British and Dutch ministers, rejected all offers of peace, and advanced with his army towards Neiss, a town of Silesia, forty-three miles south of Breslaw; whereupon Count Neuperg, thinking his majesty intended to besiege that place, threw a strong reinforcement into this fortress, and retired with his army towards the frontiers of Bohemia.

CHAP. IV. 1741.

As the Elector of Bavaria had declared war against the Queen of Hungary, by the name of Grand Duchess of Tuscany, it was now publickly known that he pretended to the Imperial dignity, and that the French court was absolutely determined to support him in his pretensions. The confederate army of French and Bavarians entered the Austrian dominions without opposition. On the 10th of September they took possession

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ſeſſion of Lintz, the capital of upper Auſtria; and after marching to Ens, they became every where maſters, laid the country under contribution, impoſed homage, exacted oaths of allegiance and fidelity; ſpreading all the terrors of war and deſolation on every ſide.

VIENNA took the alarm, and the very dread of a ſiege produced the moſt melancholly effects: the ſuburbs were laid in aſhes, the villas of the nobility in the neighbourhood became heaps of ruins; even the magnificent gardens, which had been the retirement and delight of that illuſtrious General Prince Eugene, ſhared in the general deſtruction. No beauty, either of art or nature eſcaped; all was turned into one undiſtinguiſhed waſte. Thus lamentable was the proſpect from the walls of this afflicted capital; within, nothing but tumults, fear, and confuſion, every where, except in the cabininet of the perſecuted queen; ſhe there preſented the image of majeſty in diſtreſs, though ſenſible of calamity, yet ſuperior to it; and while involved in the midſt of the collected ſtorm, ſhe patiently expected a ray of ſun-ſhine to diſſipate the long incumbent gloom. On the approach of the confederate army, ſhe had no better expedient than flight for the ſecurity of her royal perſon; and accompanied with her huſband the grand duke, Prince Charles his brother, and ſeveral of the nobility of both ſexes, ſhe ſet out for Prieſburg, the capital of Hungary; while the inhabitants of Vienna ſaw, with inexpreſſible concern and terror, their fair ſovereign quit the imperial reſidence of her anceſtors, in ſearch of an aſylum, almoſt in the neighbourhood of the Turks, to avoid the fury of her more inſatiate enemies.

THIS

THIS action, though ſecurely, was too precipitately undertaken; for the Marſhal Belleiſle, who had projected the enterprize, and to whom his electoral highneſs had entruſted the execution of the military operations, had a more important point in view, the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Bohemia; which not only beſtows a royal title, but alſo a vote in the diſpoſal of the Imperial crown. CHAP. IV. 1741.

WHILE the French and Bavarians ravaged the fair country of Auſtria, and continued exacting heavy contributions; her Hungarian majeſty was conciliating the affections of her loyal ſubjects at Preſburgh, where ſhe made her entrance on horſeback, in an Hungarian dreſs, amid the loudeſt acclamations of Joy. The diet of the ſtates of Hungary, being ſoon after convened by her majeſty, aſſembled on the 31ſt of Auguſt; and the queen, ſeating herſelf upon a throne in the midſt of ſo great an aſſembly, with a firmneſs above her ſex, and the grace peculiar to it, affectingly unboſomed her ſorrows in the Latin tongue, and in a very pathetic manner thus repreſented to the diet her misfortunes and anxiety.

"THE perplexed ſituation, ſaid this amiable "princeſs! wherein I find myſelf, by the per- "miſſion of the divine providence, is attended "with ſuch dangerous circumſtances, that I ſee "no hopes of extricating myſelf unleſs I am "ſpeedily and powerfully ſuccoured. Aban- "doned as I am (continued the royal ſufferer) "by my friends, perſecuted by my enemies, "attacked by my neareſt relations, I have no "reſource left but to ſtay in this kingdom, and "commit my perſon, my children, my ſcep- "tre, and my crown, to the care of my faith-

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" ful ſubjects. I do not heſitate a moment to
" entruſt them with my all; ſuch is their loy-
" alty and bravery, that they leave me no man-
" ner of doubt, but they will make uſe of all
" their forces to defend me and themſelves
" ſpeedily and manfully in this melancholy con-
" juncture." This moving ſpeech, added to the noble air and confidence with which it was delivered, had all the effect that could be wiſhed: the gallant Hungarians could not ſee their ſovereign in diſtreſs, or hear the brief of her ſorrows without making them their own; the whole aſſembly melted into tears; all were inflamed with rage: and though long harraſſed with wars, though long ſenſible of grievances, and though long divided among themſelves, they had now but one heart, one will, one voice; unanimous was the repeated cry, " We
" will ſtand by our queen, we will defend her
" againſt her enemies; we will ſacrifice our eſ-
" tates, and even our lives for her." The ſtates immediately reſolved to publiſh a manifeſto againſt the Elector of Bavaria; and afterwards eſtabliſhed a perpetual law for excluding that prince and his family for ever from the crown of Hungary; a reſolution and act, worthy the bravery and reſentment of ſuch loyal and gallant ſubjects. Accordingly the nobility mounted on horſeback, put their followers in arms, and called upon the great duke to lead them againſt the enemy: orders were iſſued for raiſing the ban of the kingdom, they repaired in crouds to the royal ſtandard; even the very peaſants were inſpired with uncommon loyalty and ardour, and either chearfully contributed to the expence of the war, or voluntarily became partakers of the danger;

danger; so that a potent army was soon assem- CHAP.
bled in Moravia, under the grand duke. IV.

DURING the time of her majesty's absence from Vienna, the inhabitants there with surprizing vigour and spirit augmented the fortifications: all took arms, all were assiduous in their exercise, and all were determined to defend their city and their sovereign; so that with the addition of a few regular troops, they mustered a considerable army within the walls of the town, and care was taken for laying in a sufficient quantity of provisions, ammunition, and other stores, as would have enabled them to sustain a long siege: but the confederate army did not think proper to besiege a city so well fortified, at such a season of the year; especially as the garrison was afterwards augmented to 12,000 men, and a body of Hungarian troops, consisting of 30,000 men, under the command of Count Palfi, had assembled in the neighbourhood. The Elector of Bavaria, after leaving 12,000 men under Count Segur to guard the banks of the river Inn, to secure Austria, and preserve his communication with Bavaria; towards the middle of October turned from Vienna, and conducted his forces into Bohemia, where her Hungarian majesty was collecting a numerous army to oppose him. But to add to her misfortunes, the Elector of Saxony, though he was indebted to her father for his crown of Poland, declared himself her enemy; and having caused a large body of his Saxon troops to assemble on the frontiers of Bohemia, his Polish majesty, on the 24th of October, published a manifesto, setting forth, "That since all hopes of preserving peace in "the empire were vanished, and since he per- "ceived at last that the pragmatic sanction, by 1741.

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" the ſhocks given to it, was become but a very
" weak barrier; his Poliſh majeſty, conſidering
" that his great moderation had hitherto
" ſerved only to make him neglect conſiderable
" advantages, which a contrary conduct might
" have procured him; he thought he could not,
" without being wanting in his duty to himſelf,
" and doing irreparable damage to his royal
" and electoral houſe, delay any longer to uſe
" the methods which the preſent conjuncture
" authorized him to employ, in order to pro-
" cure for himſelf and his houſe as much as he
" poſſibly could, of a ſucceſſion, which by juſt
" and indiſputable right and title was entirely
" due to him." And on the 10th of November, the Saxons under Count Rutowſki having joined the Bavarians and French, the whole army advanced to Prague, the capital of Bohemia, without any reſiſtance; and being then upwards of 60,000 ſtrong, and as the garriſon was ſmall, it was reſolved to attack the city by eſcalade. This was put in execution on the 14th at night, by three different attacks; and the inhabitants being of little aſſiſtance to the defence of the place, the confederate troops ſucceeded in their attempt, and made General Ogilvy, the governor, with a garriſon of 3,000 men priſoners of war.

WHILE the confederate army bent their courſe to this important city, the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and his brother Prince Charles of Lorrain, were on their march from Moravia with an intention to face the confederate forces, and by one deciſive blow, not only to ſecure Prague, but the whole kingdom. With this view the Hungarians, high in ſpirits, made an expeditious puſh, and arrived within three days march

of

of the city when it was taken; ſo that if the citizens had bravely and vigorouſly aſſiſted the garriſon in repelling the aſſault, they might have prevented the ruin and miſery afterwards brought upon them, and probably have ſeen a bloody battle fought, and a compleat victory obtained by their ſovereign under their walls: but when the grand duke heard that the city was taken, he wiſely retired from an army ſuperior to his own, little diminiſhed by their conqueſts, and flushed with ſucceſs, with a reſolution to wait for a more favourable opportunity of attacking them. CHAP. IV. 1741.

THE loſs of Prague was another mortifying incident to her Hungarian majeſty; but being familiar with afflictions, ſhe was become able to bear it. With a firm heart, with a tearleſs eye, with an unaltered look of greatneſs, like the foreſt oak ſupremely towering over the wood, ſhe bore the rude ſtorm, nor bowed her lofty branches to the furious blaſt. To exaggerate her misfortunes, as her enemies were every where triumphant, and every where too numerous for her armies to encounter; and imagining her allies, notwithſtanding their late ſolemn engagements, reſolved to do nothing but negociate away the greateſt part of her dominions; her majeſty was now entertaining the melancholly reflection of retiring from Preſburgh, and fly to the utmoſt bounds of Chriſtendom, for a refuge from her mercileſs perſecutors. But France, who had lately put in action the forces of Saxony, ſtill envying the ſecurity of her majeſty's perſon, had employed her emiſſaries at Conſtantinople, to excite the Ottoman forces to augment the enemies of the Hungarian queen. Some diſputes between the Turks and the late emperor were at this time unad-

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unadjuſted, the Porte was remarkably under the influence of France, and every thing was to be dreaded where the French councils had a prevalence. To guard againſt this apparent danger was impoſſible, and to truſt to the faith of Turks and French emiſſaries without freſh aſſurances, left her Hungarian majeſty a prey to her own fears. She therefore had recourſe to the only expedient in her power, which was, to lay her caſe before the grand ſignior without reſerve, and conjure him in the moſt earneſt and pathetic manner, not to take the advantage and complete her ruin. She addreſſed a letter to him on this occaſion, which met with the moſt favourable reception: the very Turk manifeſted a compaſſion for a princeſs, on all ſides ſurrounded with calamities; declared himſelf incapable of preying on the miſerable; forgot no one circumſtance of reſpect and decorum; contributed all in his power to her conſolation; and ſet ſuch an example of humanity, moderation, and diſintereſtedneſs, as might have adorned the glory of the beſt of chriſtian princes.

THUS France had laboriouſly endeavoured to move every power on the whole earth, where there was a probability of cauſing the deſtruction of the houſe of Auſtria, the only power that ſtood between her and the virtual poſſeſſion of the univerſal empire, but was unexpectedly repulſed in her negociations with the ſultan; though as ſhe was determined to place the Imperial crown on the brows of the Elector of Bavaria, ſhe uſed all her intereſt, and practiſed every artifice, to depreſs the houſe of Auſtria, and for ever to expel her from the Imperial throne. She had already ſecured Hanover by a compulſory neutrality; ſhe had allied Pruſſia, Saxony, and Poland, in her

her design; and having some apprehensions from the augmentation of the Dutch forces, notwithstanding the opposition of the Marquis de Fenelon, the French embassador at the Hague, that the republic intended to assist the Queen of Hungary; therefore to amuse the States from such an enterprize, the French ministry secretly spirited up the King of Prussia, as guarantee of the Prince of Orange's succession, to demand from the States General the delivery of the marquisate of Terveer and Flushing to the prince. His Prussian majesty also complained, that a fortified sluice which their high mightinesses had erected upon the Yssel, at Westerwert in Gelderland, would be prejudicial to his territories in that neighbourhood; and upon this head the Prussian minister presented several memorials to the States, threatening in his last to use forcible means if the affair was not amicably accommodated; this gave the States great uneasiness, as so enterprizing a prince might probably revive some dormant claim to part of their republic: and the more to alarm them, the Elector of Cologne, at the instigation of France, also laid claim to the fortresses of Brevoort and Bourtagne, on the confines of Overyssel and Westphalia, alledging they were built on the Colognian territories; this intimidated the Dutch from complying with the reiterated importunities of the Queen of Hungary, for granting her assistance, though the generality of the people were well affected to her interest. CHAP. IV. 1741.

But still her Hungarian majesty flattered herself to find in her remotest friends the Russians, that succour and relief she found impracticable among her neighbours; this she had been promised by the grand duchess, regent of that empire,

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pire, on the termination of the differences subſiſting between the court of Peterſburgh and the Porte, by a convention ſigned the 7th of September; it was alſo the intereſt of Ruſſia to ſupport the houſe of Auſtria in the full poſſeſſion of its antient power and grandeur, that in caſe of future wars with the Turks, the two ſtates might act in conjunction againſt the Porte: though ſome eminent perſonages in Ruſſia ſtill retained a ſtrong reſentment againſt the meaſures purſued by the emperor, by forſaking the alliance of Ruſſia, and concluding a peace with the Turks at Belgrade, without the knowledge of the court of Peterſburgh: for when the Marquis de Botta, envoy of the Queen of Hungary at the court of Ruſſia, had ſtrongly ſollicited the princeſs regent to ſend a powerful ſuccour to aſſiſt her majeſty, the brave count Munich, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Ottoman war, oppoſed it in council, alledging, "That her Hungarian majeſty was not then in ſuch perplexity, "as Ruſſia was when the emperor made a ſeparate peace with the Turks:" but the ducheſs regent perſiſted in her intentions to aſſiſt her Hungarian majeſty, who had here placed her laſt and only confidence; and to baffle her expectations, the Marquis de la Chetardie, who then reſided as the French embaſſador at Peterſburgh, uſed all his abilities to create a rupture between the courts of Ruſſia and Sweden, which was ſoon effected; and this, joined with the ſurprizing revolution in that empire in favour of the Princeſs Elizabeth, who was immediately declared empreſs and autocracy of all the Ruſſias, extinguiſhed all the hopes of her Hungarian majeſty from that part of the globe: for the court of Peterſburgh, with perhaps the moſt cordial intentions

tentions in the world, was compelled to leave her hapleſs ally unſupported in the midſt of her enemies. CHAP. IV.

THE Elector of Bavaria being in poſſeſſion of Prague, and the Queen of Hungary reduced to the loweſt extremity, the court of France now vigorouſly put in execution the plan of promoting the elector to the Imperial dignity; the miniſtry of Verſailles had previouſly intereſted the electoral princes in his favour, and his highneſs being crowned King of Bohemia at Prague on the 16th of December, whereby the vote of that kingdom being ſuppreſſed, there remained no obſtacle to his advancement. 1741.

AT this time the Queen of Hungary may be juſtly ſaid to ſuffer a complication of the greateſt diſtreſſes; yet in theſe circumſtances ſhe did not deſpair; and providence, co-operating with the conduct of her generals, and the bravery of her troops, who were fired with almoſt an enthuſiaſtic zeal for the preſervation of their ſovereign, ſoon turned the wheel of fortune in her favour.

THE firm conduct and heroic reſolution of this gallant princeſs, cannot be ſufficiently admired; at a time when oppreſſed with the greateſt calamities, committing her cauſe to the juſtice of heaven, and the valour of her gallant ſubjects, ſtill undauntedly to ſupport herſelf amid ſuch a ſeries of afflictions, evinces a ſoul filled with the moſt exalted ideas of fortitude and magnanimity, and renders her juſtly meritorious to fill the throne of her imperial anceſtors.

THE Auſtrian army being defeated in their deſigns for the relief of Prague, retired towards Budweis, a town ſixty-five miles ſouth of that capital;

PART II. 1741. and dividing into three bodies, the one under the command of the Grand Duke, another under Veldt Marshal Count Khevenhuller, and the other under Prince Lobkowitz, they gained several advantages over the French and Bavarians. On the 11th of December, the forces under the Grand Duke appeared before Frauenberg; and the French, who had taken that castle a few days before, abandoned it on his approach; the 13th he entered Wodain, where he took 138 prisoners: on the 15th he marched to Protiwin, and took a few prisoners with some baggage, and 200 bread waggons; and hearing that the confederates were retreating from all parts to Piseck, a town upon the Moldaw, about twenty miles west of Budweis, immediately marched thither; when part of the confederate cavalry, with four companies of grenadiers, passed the river with a design to reconnoitre the Austrians; but met with so vigorous a charge, that they were totally routed, the four companies of grenadiers put to the sword by the Hungarian troops called Polistes, while the French horse run away at the first onset.

PRINCE LOBKOWITZ, with his detachment, hearing that 300 French troops, being the van of a larger body were on their march to Teutch-Brod, on the 16th of December ordered Caroli's regiment of hussars to attack them; which was done so effectually, that about 100 were killed, and the M. de Chatillon a French brigadier, his son, four other officers, and 100 private soldiers taken prisoners.

BUT the most important affair was conducted by Marshal Khevenhuller, who was detached against M. Segur, commander of the French and Bavarian forces in Austria. On the 13th

of

of December the marſhal ordered General Count Mercy D'Argentau, with a body of troops, to paſs the river Inn, which he happily executed and drove the confederates from their intrenchments, at Sternberg, as alſo the town and caſtle of Steyr. On the 14th the marſhal arrived at Emſlatten, where he waited the following days for the coming up of the pontons and artillery. The 17th he marched with the army, and on the 18th arrived at Hagg, two leagues from Ens. The 19th he marched all night, and the next morning, at break of day, laid bridges over the Inn. The work was finiſhed with wonderful diſpatch, notwithſtanding the fire of the French cannon; and then the army paſſed the river, the foot over the bridge, but the horſe took to the ſtream. The Generals Bernklau and Bernes were the firſt that got over, and formed the troops into order as they came up. A large body of the confederates made a ſhew of attacking the Auſtrians, but General Bernklau, at the head of a detachment of horſe ſoon diſperſed them. As the French and Bavarians had the river Steyr before them, beſides an entrenchment, and a line drawn between the towns of Ens and Steyr, Marſhal Khevenhuller made a feint of attacking them on the ſide of Mathauſen; during which time Count Mercy diſlodged them from Steyr, after having killed and made priſoners a great number of them; and Count Palfi marched directly to attack the town of Ens, when the garriſon immediately deſired a capitulation, and obtained leave to retire to Lintz. Upon this Count Segur, the Prince of Tingry, Lord Clare, and General Minucci, precipitately retired with the French and Bavarians; and Marſhal Khevenhuller detaching the

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huſſars after them, a great number were ſlain and taken priſoners. The Auſtrian boors, having taken up arms, cut all the French and Bavarians they met with to pieces; and the marſhal continued in full march to overtake and give them battle, but they retreated, and in endeavouring to ſave their heavy baggage by the Danube, the greateſt part of it fell into the hands of the Auſtrian huſſars, who received but a ſlight loſs, while Baron Trenck was diſpatched with 250 pandours, to take poſſeſſion of the paſs of Steyermarck, with orders to drive the French and Bavarians from Claus, Windiſchgarten and Spital, in which three places they had 664 men, and five pieces of cannon; wherewith they might have defended themſelves in the defiles of the mountains againſt an entire army. Baron Trenck marched all night, and an hour before day fell upon the firſt centinel himſelf, and tumbling him over the rock down a frightful precipice, broke his neck. He then attacked a ſmall redoubt, where he took eight priſoners, but the reſt eſcaping carried the alarm to the town of Claus, where the Baron followed them cloſe at their heels with 50 men. It was now day-light, and as the garriſon ſtood looking over the walls, the Baron had his fifty men advanced cloſe to the gates, threatening them with the ill conſequences that muſt attend their daring to fire a ſhot, their whole army being, as he pretended, totally defeated. This ſo intimidated the commandant and the garriſon, that they ſoon agreed to capitulate, and ſurrendered themſelves thereupon priſoners of war. Baron Trenck then ſummoned Windiſchgarten and Spital, which upon being apprized of his having taken poſſeſſion of Claus, ſent him their keys immediately, where-

by in the seizing of this important post he made twenty-two officers and the 664 men prisoners, and took the five cannon, and also forty-eight pop guns. CHAP. IV. 1741.

On the 26th of December the confederate troops made a feint at first as if they intended to retreat on the side of Wells and Lambach; but their design was to throw themselves into Lintz, a strong and beautiful city, the capital of Upper Austria, 105 miles west of Vienna, which they effected, and together with the garrison they made a body of 10,000 men; when they were immediately surrounded, and blocked up by the Austrians: they defended themselves with great resolution, but being destitute of provisions, and cut off from all assistance, Count Segur offered to capitulate, and to evacuate all the Upper Austria, upon condition of having a free passage, and the military honours allowed them; but Marshal Khevenhuller insisted, that they should either surrender themselves prisoners of war, or engage to serve no more against the queen during the continuance of the war: and on the 12th of January the French and Bavarians surrendered upon capitulation, by which they were obliged not to serve against the Queen of Hungary for the space of a year. But no precaution being taken in the articles of capitulation, to settle the rout of these troops, the Austrians, by conducting them by tedious journeys, and impassable roads, occasioned the loss of the greatest part of them.

The great Turenne observes of capitulations, that the particular place, the road to it, and the time in going ought to be stipulated. For want of which the French and Bavarians were now at the mercy of the Austrians, in the same

manner

PART II. manner as a body of 800 Engliſh were to the Spaniards in 1707, who being taken at Alzira in Spain, only capitulated to be eſcorted to Lerida, which might have been done in a fortnight; but the Spaniards conducted them ſo far out of the way, that they were three months in going, and did not arrive at Lerida till the Spaniards had taken poſſeſſion of it.

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THE populace of France had a good opinion of the martial abilities of Count Segur, and expected he would have made a braver defence; but the conduct of that general, will admit of an eaſy vindication, when it is conſidered, that though the troops were numerous, it put him under the greater difficulties, as there was ſo ſmall a quantity of proviſions in the town that the troops were compelled to live upon horſeflesh, and had been unſucceſsful in all their ſallies; beſides, the count had received poſitive orders to preſerve the troops, from the court of Verſailles; where, on his arrival, he met with a kind reception from the king, though he was generally cenſured by the court.

WHILE Marſhal Khevenhuller was beſieging Lintz, General Bernes ſeized the French and Bavarian great magazine at Cremſmunſter; and General Bernklau, poſting with a detachment to invade Bavaria, in his way got poſſeſſion of the ſalt-works at Gemund, with the towns of Hallſtadt and Iſchel, and took the garriſons, conſiſting of 400 men, priſoners; and afterwards obliged the garriſon of Mathauſen to ſurrender at diſcretion. The general ſoon after having ſurprized Reidi and Scharding, a town in Bavaria, ſituated on the river Inn, ſeven miles ſouth of Paſſaw, opened a way for the huſſars to make incurſions very far into the electoral territories.

Count

Count Thoring, having collected a body of 8,000 Bavarians, endeavoured to diſlodge the Auſtrians from Scharding; but being diſappointed by the vigilance of General Bernklau, who had defeated ſix companies of grenadiers with a body of horſe, which Count Thoring had ſent upon that deſign; General Bernklau after leaving a neceſſary force in Scharding, marched forwards, and joining Colonel Mentzel with the troops under his command, they proceeded together to the village of Wittich, where the Bavarians were poſted; and having attacked them, after a briſk engagement, wherein the Bavarians loſt above 3,000 men, the Auſtrians obtained a complete victory, and took General Preyſing among the priſoners. CHAP. IV. 1741.

THESE ſucceſſes attending the arms of her Hungarian majeſty, recovered Auſtria, procured winter quarters for her troops in Bavaria, and preſaged the glory that crowned her victorious troops in the following year.

THE French and their allies were highly culpable in diſuniting their army, conſiſting of regular and well-diſciplined regiments, inſtead of marching in a body to attack the Auſtrians; who being chiefly new raiſed militia, were incapable of ſtanding a general battle; which it is probable the French and Bavarians might have obliged them to, had they marched to Vienna, where the queen returned on the 1ſt of December attended by the whole court.

To ballance the advantages the Queen of Hungary had obtained in Auſtria and Bavaria, the Pruſſians continued to improve their ſucceſs in Sileſia; and Count Neuperg being obliged to withdraw the Auſtrian forces to make head againſt the French and Bavarians, on their entering

ing

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ing into Bohemia, on the 10th of September the King of Prussia invested Neiss, which surrendered on honourable terms the 20th of October; and there being then no sufficient army to oppose his progress, he became absolute master of all Silesia, and returned to Breslau, where he received homage, from the whole states of the duchy of Silesia, on the 9th of November, in an assembly of about 400 deputies.

As the protestant religion is the most predominant in Silesia, this induced the inhabitants the more readily to acknowledge their submission to the King of Prussia; his majesty released them from all rents and services imposed on them by the Romish clergy, and his refusal of a free gift of 100,000 crowns offered him by the states, together with his mild treatment and endeavours to gain the affections of the people, effectually procured him their regard and esteem; and his majesty, after re-establishing the public tranquility, returned to Berlin, and in his way paid a visit to the court of Dresden.

AFTER the taking of Neiss, his Prussian majesty detached Count Leopold de Dessau with 12,000 men, to join the Elector of Bavaria in Bohemia, who in his way besieged the city of Glatz, the capital of that country, situated at the foot of the mountains which divide Bohemia from Silesia, 100 miles east of Prague, and had the town surrendered to him on the 9th of January, but the castle held out till the 27th of April, when the garrison obtained an honourable capitulation, and were conducted to the Austrian army. The king, on his departure from the army to Breslau, left the remainder of his troops to the command of Count Schwerin, who entered the duchy of Moravia without opposition,

and

and on the 15th of December laid ſiege to Olmutz, the capital city, ſituated on the river Moraw, 75 miles N. of Vienna, which being ſurrendered on honourable terms, the garriſon retired to Brinn, a ſtrong town 30 miles S. W. of Olmutz, which was ſoon after inveſted by the Saxons. CHAP. IV. 1741.

THE rigour of the ſeaſon inviting the confederate forces to retire into winter quarters, the French cantoned themſelves along the Muldaw to the confines of Auſtria, and the Saxons and Pruſſians about Brinn, and Znaim, a town thirty-five miles N. W. of Vienna, and twenty miles S. of Brinn in Moravia.

As the campaign terminated with an auſpicious proſpect, in favour of the Queen of Hungary againſt the confederate army, it will be now requiſite to ſee what danger ſhe was expoſed to in her Italian dominions.

As ſoon as the King of Spain had publiſhed his pretenſions to the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, the Hungarian miniſter at Rome, about the middle of January, demanded a paſſage through the eccleſiaſtical territories for 5000 of the Queen of Hungary's troops, to march from the Milaneſe to Tuſcany; which his holineſs not only agreed to, but granted her majeſty permiſſion to levy a tenth on the revenues of the clergy, and to make uſe of all the church plate in her dominions, for ſupporting her in her diſtreſſed circumſtances.

THE Spaniards made early preparations in the ſpring to ſend a body of troops into Italy from Barcelona, where a great number of veſſels were ready to tranſport them; but this project met with ſeveral difficulties, and ſeemed to be entirely

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neglected till October; for as soon as the court of Madrid had received intelligence of the Hanover neutrality, the expedition was resumed, nineteen battalions of foot, and 1,200 horse, being about 15,000 men, commanded by the Duke de Montemar, Captain-General of Spain, arrived at Barcelona, and were conveyed by 200 sail of transports, under the convoy of six Spanish Gallies and three French men of war, for the coast of Italy: but being dispersed by a storm, they were drove into the French ports of Provence and Languedoc; however the fleet sustained no loss, and being in a few days united, they proceeded on their voyage, and arrived at Orbitello on the coast of Tuscany, where the army was safely landed without any interruption from the British fleet, at that time lying in the bay of Gibraltar; and were in expectation of being reinforced by a body of French.

THE King of the two Sicilies, awed by the British fleet, had hitherto professed a neutrality, but being evidently attached to the Spanish interest, privately resolved to assist Spain against the Queen of Hungary.

THE Ministers of France and Spain had been very sollicitous at the court of Turin, to influence the King of Sardinia in the alliance against her Hungarian majesty, and by their extensive promises, had even engaged him to publish a manifesto, declaring his rights to the duchy of Milan; but he soon saw through the artifice; and jealous of the Spaniards gaining any settlement in Italy, he determined to espouse the cause of the house of Austria: to this he was the more inclined, as his queen was sister to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who, for his assistance, had made him an offer

offer of the cities of Pavia, Voghera, and Vigevano, with their reſpective diſtricts, in the Milaneſe, which lay very convenient to his dominions. Though his Sardinian majeſty had an army of 60,000 men ready to take the field, his finances were too poor to ſet him in a condition of commencing hoſtilities againſt the enemies of the houſe of Auſtria, till he could procure a ſubſidy to enable him to ſupport his forces: in the mean time he abſolutely refuſed a paſſage to any of the Spaniſh troops through his dominions, and formed two camps on his frontiers, in each of which he aſſembled 10,000 men, and reſolved to oppoſe the entrance of the Spaniards into this country, which compelled them to run the hazard of their troops in an embarkation; and when the French ambaſſador demanded a paſſage through Piedmont for 15,000 troops to join the Spaniards, his majeſty alſo refuſed it, declaring "He "would employ all his forces in oppoſing the "attempts of any power that ſhould endeavour "to diſturb the repoſe of Italy;" in which he nobly adhered, with a reſolution ſuperior to the frowns of fortune, manifeſting a magnanimity worthy the line of Eugene, and exerting all the bravery, conduct, and honour, of a valiant hero, and worthy prince. CHAP. IV. 1741.

THE Eccleſiaſtical and Venetian ſtates, however diſpoſed to aſſiſt the Queen of Hungary, adhered to a ſtrict neutrality; but the republic of Genoa, though they had not yet declared their ſentiments, were too much influenced by the councils of France to refuſe an implicit conformity to the will and pleaſure of that court, who had but lately aſſiſted the republic in reducing the revolted Corſicans to their obedience.

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BUT it was too late in the year for the Spaniards to commence any military designs; they got into winter quarters, waiting for a reinforcement from Spain, and the return of spring, before they attempted any thing farther to disturb the repose of her Hungarian majesty's Italian dominions.

SECOND

SECOND DIVISION.

Containing naval tranſactions in AMERICA and EUROPE, in 1741.

CHAPTER I.

The Expedition againſt CUBA.

ON the return of the Britiſh fleet and forces to Jamaica, from the ſiege of Carthagena, the remains of the army continued in a feeble and languid condition; the ſhips that came out with Sir Chaloner Ogle were now generally ſickly, and the whole fleet in great want of ſeamen, though the companies of the ſeaſoned ſhips held it tolerably healthy. This general ſickneſs afforded a melancholly ſcene to the ſurvivors of the late fatal expedition, and gave Vice Admiral Vernon the fuller employment

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ment to remedy all their wants and defects, to enable them to proceed on some other, and more prosperous design against the Spaniards, which he was willing to have commenced with the utmost diligence their miserable condition would permit; as he knew a continuance on that intemperate island, must be attended with the total loss of the healthy and reviving men.

As the vice admiral had received instructions in regard to the dispatching a proportionable number of his ships home, on those of the Spaniards being returned to Europe, or destroyed; and sensible of the danger the unsheathed eighty gun ships, and others of the most crazy of the ships would run, if they were not sent home to save a summer's passage, he therefore found it necessary, and the council of war afterwards concurred with him in opinion, that such ships ought to be dispatched to England, so as a sufficient force was reserved, in regard to the Spanish squadron under Don Rodrigo de Torres at the Havanna, and those under Monsieur de Rochefeuil at Hispaniola.

SEVEN of the eight eighty gun ships, the Princess Carolina, Russel, Norfolk, Shrewsbury, Princess Amelia, Torbay, and Chichester; as also the Hampton-Court, Burford, Windsor, and Falmouth; the Success, Eleanor, Cumberland, Terrible, and Goodley frigates, being unsheathed, they would have been entirely ruined by remaining any longer on service in the hot climates; upon which the vice admiral ordered them to get in readiness, and proceed immediately to England, under the command of Commodore Lestock; who, having taken on board Colonel Woolf, and some other officers afflicted with the general infirmity contracted before Carthagena,

thagena, and such part of the soldiers as were rendered unfit for service, soon after set sail, taking under his convoy the homeward-bound fleet that had set out with the Kennington and Torrington, but had returned, on account of the fiery-breeze season. CHAP. I. 1741.

THOUGH the departure of so many sailors, at such an unseasonable time, was very inconvenient to the remainder of the fleet, it was absolutely necessary for the preservation of such valuable ships as were ordered to return with Commodore Lestock; and as the vice admiral began to apprehend, from the conduct of General Wentworth, that a division would unavoidably ensue in their prosecution of other enterprizes, he was in hopes of being permitted to resign the command to Sir Chaloner Ogle, and was very desirous of returning to England with the ships he was obliged to send under Commodore Lestock, having no discretionary power to return at his own option, but was even persuaded for the service of his country to remain contented in his station, however disagreeable it might be, to act in conjunction with an officer, of whose abilities he had little reason to give any commendation; to this the vice admiral the more chearfully submitted, as he had been pressed by the Duke of Newcastle to continue the command of this fleet; for his grace, by a letter to the vice admiral, dated the 24th of May, informed him, "That he wished, for the honour of his country, for the success of his majesty's arms, and "for the perfecting the great work he had so "gloriously begun, of reducing the Spaniards "in the West Indies, that he would not think "of coming home and leaving his command "there; which, without the least imputation

"upon

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" upon any body, could not be supplied by any " one, on whom his majesty, the nation, and " all the king's friends and servants, could have " an equal dependance."

VICE Admiral Vernon was industriously employed in completing the preparatory measures, towards accelerating the refitting of his fleet, and putting them in a proper condition for returning to sea, on the further service of his king and country, which was the predominant, and only, passion, then reigning in the bosom of this excellent commander: he was impatient to retrieve the martial glory and reputation of his natal country, which the Spaniards had insolently vilified and degraded, since the retreat from Carthagena, and which the admiral, fired with honest zeal to preserve the British honour, was determined to re-establish; especially, as he well knew what a prodigious sum this expedition had cost, and how high the nation had carried their expectations from it, which as often as he reflected on, he was the more animated to exert his abilities to answer the great view of the nation, which was effectually to reduce the power of Spain in America; and the vice admiral was determined, to look with a just resentment, on all who should shew any want of their duty, in accomplishing this great and ultimate design.

HAVING issued out the necessary orders to set all the wheels in motion; his next thought was about holding a general council of war, for regulating their future proceedings; which being proposed to the rest of the council, they accordingly assembled.

AT

CHAP. I.

1741.

AT a general council of war held at his Excellency's Governor Trelawney's, at St Jago de la Vaga, on the 26th of May, 1741.

PRESENT,

Vice Admiral Vernon, Sir Chaloner Ogle, General Wentworth, General Guiſe, and Governor Trelawney.

'THE council, after maturely deliberating 'on their inſtructions, orders, letters, intercepted intelligences, and advices; and having regard to the great reduction of their forces, 'were of opinion, That in regard to the diminution of the forces, the ſecurity of Jamaica, 'the Britiſh trade, and of all ſupplies coming 'to them, and alſo the preſerving a communication with Jamaica for their ſupplies; the 'only expedition, that could be thought adviſable to be undertaken, was againſt St Jago 'de Cuba, a port of great importance to the 'ſecurity of the Britiſh trade, and cutting off 'the baneful correſpondence between the Spaniards and Hiſpaniola. And though in regard 'to the general ſickneſs, that ſpread itſelf through 'fleet and army, they were not in very good 'condition for undertaking any new expedition; 'yet on the aſſurance given the council by Governor Trelawney, that they might rely on a 'ſupply from Jamaica of 1,000 of the moſt ſervicable blacks they could raiſe in the iſland, 'to be all choſen men, and to have proper officers; and through a ſincere zeal for doing the 'utmoſt in their power, to anſwer the expectations of their royal maſter from the great

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'expence of this expedition.' "It was the re-
"ſolution of the council, to undertake this ex-
"pedition againſt St Jago, and to puſh it for-
"ward with all the diſpatch the ſituation of
"their affairs would admit of."

THIS reſolution was ſigned by the two admirals and both the generals, but was diſſented from by Governor Trelawney, who was of opinion, "That ſince the forces had been ſo reduced by "ſickneſs, the remaining number ought not to "be hazarded, but on a ſervice that, if it ſuc-"ceeded, might be of great benefit and im-"portance to Great Britain. He could not "think St Jago de Cuba of conſequence, while "the Engliſh were maſters at ſea; and took it "for an inviolable maxim to be ſuperiors, as "they might be, at ſea in the Weſt Indies, or "elſe poſſeſſions there would be a detriment, "inſtead of a benefit, to Great Britain; and "no poſſeſſions, but ſuch as are uſeful in com-"merce, are for the benefit of England. Pan-"ama is of that nature, as it would command "the iſthmus of Darien; and therefore, if there "was force enough, with the help of the Muſ-"quito Indians, and negroes under proper "officers from Jamaica, an attempt upon that "place would be, in his opinion, moſt adviſ-"able."

BUT the poſſeſſion of this pure, large, aud healthy iſland of Cuba, was the univerſal cry of the Britiſh nation; all their hearts were bent upon it; and nothing could be done in the Weſt Indies half ſo acceptable as ſuch an acquiſition: though Governor Trelawney might naturally predict, that if a Britiſh ſettlement was obtained in Cuba, the utility of it muſt neceſſarily deſtroy the

the trade, and reduce the value of land in Jamaica; and therefore might endeavour to discourage an enterprize, that seemed extremely prejudicial to his own government. His majesty in his instructions, sent from Herenhausen, the 10th of July 1740, had particularly recommended to the vice admiral, to attempt the Havanna, La Vera Cruz, Mexico, Carthagena, and Panama, but of all these the most desirable acquisition was the reduction of the town and port of the Havanna. It was now impossible to attempt the Havanna, because Don Rodrigo de Torres was in that port, with an equal, if not a superior force to the British squadron: and therefore the conquest of St Jago seemed the most preferable to be undertaken, as that port was the rendezvous of the Spanish privateers; and if the British forces were once in possession of Cuba, the whole world would not be able to dispossess them again, and they might then make peace with Spain, without the intervention of France, giving them almost any thing in Europe they might desire, but shewing them, at the same time, they should, in great measure, depend upon Great Britain, the chief maritime power, for the very possession of their Indies. CHAP. I. 1741.

THE vice admiral and General Wentworth returned to their posts, for giving the necessary orders for proceeding on the expedition with all possible dispatch. The inhabitants of Jamaica, sensible of the abilities of the vice admiral, and grateful for the service he had done them, by ordering his cruizers to such advantageous situations for the protection of their valuable trade, and perceiving the too visible havoc that had riotously raged among, and diminished the land forces, who from 12,000 were now reduced to 3,000,

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offered to raiſe a body of 5,000 negroes for the preſent expedition: but it was judged moſt adviſable, both in regard to the royal ſervice, and to their own conveniency, to deſire a ſmaller number, and to have only a thouſand choſen blacks, which were immediately collected; and the fleet, and forces, were as expeditiouſly prepared for the enterprize.

THE vice admiral, on the 25th of June, ordered Capt. Renton, in the Ripon, to proceed immediately to ſea, and get into a proper ſtation, for cruizing to windward of St Jago, for reconnoitring the coaſt, and intercepting the Spaniſh trade; and having appointed Cape Donna Maria for the firſt, and Walthenam Bay, about twelve leagues to windward of St Jago, on the iſland of Cuba, for the ſecond general place of rendezvous; the vice admiral directed the ſquadron to proceed to ſea, with the tranſports, in detachments; on which they began to get out from Port Royal harbour on the 28th: the Suffolk, Strafford, Dunkirk, Deptford, Auguſta, York, Briſtol, Vulcan, and Litchfield, being left at Port Royal, under the command of Capt. Davers, to protect the iſland of Jamaica; who had orders to forward the York, Deptford, and Auguſta, to follow the admiral, as ſoon as they were in a condition for the ſea. On the 13th of July the fleet aſſembled off the iſland of Navaſſa, when the whole ſquadron conſiſted of the following ſhips:

LINE

LINE OF BATTLE.

VICE ADMIRAL VERNON.

Frigates, &c.	Rates	Ships	Commanders	Men	Guns
Shoreham					
Alderney	4	Cheſter	Long	300	50
Strombolo	3	Grafton	Rycaut	480	70
Phaeton		Boyne	V. A. Vernon }	620	80
Bonetta			Capt. Watſon }		
Prs Royal	4	Worceſter	Cleland	400	60
Pompey		Tilbury	Dent	400	60
Triton					

Rear Admiral Sir CHALONER OGLE.

Experiment	3	Kent	Mitchel	480	70
Sheerneſs		Cumberland	Sir Cha. Ogle }	615	80
Veſuvius			Capt. Norris }		
Scarborough	4	Tyger	Herbert	300	50
		Montagu	Chambers	400	60

The tranſports, and ſtoreſhips, conſiſted of forty-one ſail; and the land forces, and blacks, on board the fleet, made a body of 4,000 men.

THE whole fleet got into Walthenham harbour on the 18th of July, being ſixty-one ſail in all; where they had the pleaſure to find themſelves poſſeſſed of the fineſt harbour in the Weſt Indies, capable of containing any number of ſhipping, and ſecure againſt hurricanes; which, as that dangerous part of the ſeaſon was approaching, yielded the fleet a much ſafer protection, than the harbour of Port Royal, againſt the violence of ſuch dreadful encounters: to this harbour the vice admiral immediately gave the name of Cumberland harbour; in honour of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland.

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THE iſland of Cuba is the largeſt, and far the moſt temperate and pleaſant of all the Antilles; lying between 19 deg. 30 m. and 23 deg. of north latitude, and from 293 to 304 deg. of longitude, being about 230 leagues in length, and in the broadeſt part 40 leagues wide, in the narroweſt about 12; having Florida, and the Lucayos, on the north, Hiſpaniola on the weſt, Jamaica and the ſouthern continent on the ſouth, and the gulph of Mexico on the eaſt. A country, redundant, not only with the neceſſary conveniences of life, but abounding even with the more delicate bleſſings of nature, and is much the largeſt iſland in America; the ſavannas, or large open meadow lands, are ſwarming with cattle, and the woods with hogs both wild and tame; the land is good for ſugar canes, which it produces, and tobacco of the beſt kind in great plenty; wheat, rice, all kind of ſalleting, and pulſe, flouriſh very plentifully, with fruit of all kinds that thoſe Indies afford; the woods are full of mahogony, fuſtic, Spaniſh elm, cedar, and ſeveral other valuable kinds, alſo cotton grows wild, beſides what is planted; the whole iſland, is full of fine rivers, and harbours, fit for tranſportation; and the town of Covery, within three leagues of St Jago, has in it one of the richeſt of copper mines, on which the Spaniards are inceſſantly at work. The Havanna, which lies on the weſtern part of the iſland, is the moſt conſiderable town for ſtrength and opulence, and contains about half of the whole inhabitants; where the Spaniſh admiral lay, at this time, with twelve ſhips of the line, and 8,000 ſeamen.

THIS admiral had been, for ſome time, in the American ſeas, without attempting any enterprize

terprize againſt the Engliſh; and his ſailors were diſpirited at the many unfortunate accidents, that had happened to him, being poſſeſſed with an opinion, that nothing but misfortune, would attend a commander, on whom the heavens had ſeemed to threaten and prognoſtic deſtruction, by a variety of inauſpicious omens; nor, conſidering the blind ſuperſtition of the Spaniards, does this, their opinion, afford the leaſt matter of admiration: for the admiral, on his departure from Carthagena, run his ſhip, the Santa Anna, a-ground, on the rocks in going into the Havanna, where ſhe beat off half her keel; De Torres then hoiſted his flag on board the Invincible, a new built ſhip at the Havanna, and never at ſea, which was ſoon afterwards blown up by lightening, and in her four millions of pieces of eight; the town was deſerted by all the Spaniards, whilſt the ſhip was burning; two churches were extremely damaged by the blaſt; the admiral narrowly eſcaped in his boat, and the next ſhip in which he hoiſted his flag, had her main-maſt carried away in a thunder-ſtorm, two days after his coming on board; which made the ſtrongeſt impreſſions, on the minds of ſo weak and puſillanimous a people. CHAP. I. 1741.

ST JAGO is the principal town in the eaſtern part of the country, is the moſt antient in the iſland, and generally eſteemed the capital; tho' now the governor reſides at the Havanna; and only ſuch of the Spaniards as have eſtates on the iſland, and are contented with their poſſeſſions without interfering much in trade, inhabit this place; which has a declining aſpect, and preſerves only the ruins of its former greatneſs: yet this city has a port inferior, in its ſituation, to

the

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the Havanna, only in trade, but much more commodious for privateers, as it commands the windward passage. Though the city is well inhabited, and well situated, for trade, it remains but in a very indifferent condition as to its fortifications; for the harbour was naturally so well fortified, as to give the Spaniards no reason to fear any attack from the sea; and the distance the town lay at from any other harbour, gave them as little concern from the land quarter, where they had left their fortifications, without the least repairation since the commencement of the war. The towns, in general, are awed beneath the subjection of a few wealthy Spaniards, who exercise an arbitrary power over a multitude of indigent people, that have no recourse to any open laws, to relieve them from their unnatural and inhuman servility; which has depraved them to an indolent and effeminate course of life, making them very inclinable to throw off the heavy yoke of Spanish slavery, and ready to embrace an opportunity of enjoying the happiness of British liberty.

THE vice admiral, when at sea, having solemnly taken the declaration of John Drake, an English mariner, who had resided thirteen years upon that part of the island, and was, well acquainted with the nature of the country, and the road from Cumberland harbour to St Jago, which appeared, by that declaration, to make it easily practicable for the army to advance to the town. For Cumberland harbour was, declared to be, about two or three miles broad, having a fresh-water river running into it on the leewardmost side; up which river for about a league there is four or five fathom water, and on the larboard side the royal salina. Further up, the water shoals,

ſhoals, but in ſuch a manner that the Boyne's long-boat could very well paſs about three or four leagues, farther than which even a dogee cannot paſs, being only ankle deep. About two leagues from the king's ſalina, upwards on the ſtarboard ſide, were two other ſalinas, from which ſalinas to a village called Elleguava, containing about a hundred houſes, and a ſmall church it is eight leagues; where the inhabitants are Indians and mulattoes, who live by hunting and raiſing of ſtock. This village is eleven leagues from Cumberland harbour, thirteen leagues from St Jago, and lies in the direct road from that town to Baraccoa, which is about thirty leagues from the village. The road, from the two ſalinas to Elleguava, is about two miles along the river ſide; from thence a good open road for about two leagues more, when there is a fine large ſavanna for about two leagues further, and the remaining two leagues is likewiſe good and open, with crawles, or cattle pens, frequently ſcattered upon the road. From Elleguava to St. Jago, the road is for the moſt part woody hills and dales; but in the narroweſt part, ſo broad that ten men may very well go a-breaſt; and there are three or four rivulets, alſo crawles or cattle pens, to be often met with in the paſſage. CHAP. I. 1741.

ADMIRAL VERNON had likewiſe collected proper intelligence of the ſituation and ſtrength of the town, port, and citadel of St Jago; and in this received great aſſiſtance from Henry Cavelier, carpenter of an Aſſiento brigantine, who had been priſoner there, and employed a conſiderable time at work on the fortifications; by whoſe declaration it appeared, That at the ſouth entrance of the port, on the ſtarboard ſide, is a low battery called the Punto, which has two

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twelve pounders, three six pounders, and one four pounder, at the entrance below, pointing to the road which leads from the bay where they land. About half way up the hill, by steps, is another battery, called Plata Forma Grande, fronting the sea, with eight forty-two pounders, and two eighteen pounders, with seven caves for lodging soldiers and provisions: higher up is another battery, which has two honey-comb guns, four pounders, and a cistern which will contain about 2 or 3,000 gallons of water. Higher up is another small plat-form, with a little cistern, but no guns: above this is another plat-form, about twenty feet from the top of the hill, which has ten guns, four pounders, two of them brass; three of these guns point to the sea, all the rest to the land. Under this plat-form is the entrance into the Morro castle, or citadel, which is a quadrangular fort of eight guns. Above, through a gate about ten feet wide, about sixteen feet from the gate is a dry mote, about sixteen or eighteen feet wide, and as many deep; and about sixteen feet from this mote is another, about eleven feet wide and as many deep, with a draw-bridge over each: and on the western side of the harbour, opposite to Morro castle, was a small battery of five guns.

About a quarter of a mile further up in the north part of the harbour, on the town side, is the castle Estrella, situate on an eminence, with a battery of eighteen pounders; and about twenty feet below, a small battery of three guns, eighteen pounders, both fronting the entrance of the port; and on the same level with the ten gun battery, is an angle fronting cross the harbour, which has seven guns, four pounders. This castle may be easily surprized, several paths leading

leading to the top thereof, from which the at- CHAP. I.
cendants might fire down upon all the batteries
or even kill the men with ſtones from the top
and the eaſtermoſt ſide is open, and without an 1741.
defence. The Eſtrella once gained, will com
mand the Punto, the weſtermoſt end of Plat
Forma Grande, and the top of Morro caſtle.

At ſome further diſtance to the northward
the Eſtrella, is another little battery called Sant
Catalina, which has two twelve pounders lyin
almoſt level with the water, and fronting the e
trance of the port; this battery, with twenty m
only, may be eaſily ſurprized and taken at a
time; and here the Spaniards had moored a ſh
acroſs the harbour.

There was alſo, to the eaſtward of Mor
caſtle, another battery of ſeven guns called
Aquadores, and the Spaniards had lately erec
two other ſmall batteries on eminences, to gu
the road between Elleguava and the town.

The narrowneſs of the entrance into the
bour of St Jago, and the ſingular difficul
ſhips getting into it, occaſioned by the obſtruc-
tion of the eddy wind (that comes dow
Morro caſtle and the Eſtrella, and would
fallibly drive them on the weſtern ſhore,
the aſſiſtance of a cable faſtened to an a
ſhore, in the bight between the two ca
ders it impoſſible to attack the town by ſea; for
this reaſon Vice Admiral Vernon h
Walthenam bay, diſtant eleven leag
from St Jago, as the neareſt and moſt commo-
dious ſituation to embark the troops, for their
proceeding to march and attack the town on the
land ſide, where, as they did not expect to be
ſurprized, the Spaniards were at preſent entirely
open and defenceleſs. Walthenam, now Cum-

berland harbour, is about twenty-four leagues rom St Jago, and in the dry ſeaſon of the year, which is from October to June, the roads are ery good, and even in the rainy ſeaſon paſſable ithout much difficulty.

As Vice Admiral Vernon was poſſeſſed of a ood pilot for the harbour, on his arrival he loſt o time in making the beſt uſe of him; having etached Capt. Forreſt in the bomb-ketch, one f the fire-ſhips, a brigantine and ſloop tenders, nd the bomb tender, who entered the lagoon oing up to the ſalinas, with part of this flotilla t evening. And by day-break on the 19th of ly, Capt. Watſon was diſpatched with all the rges and yawls manned and armed, to help to w the flotilla as high up as it was navigable for m; and he returned the ſame night, after hing poſted the ſloop as high as the upper ſa-is, and the bomb-ketch and brig tender as h as the lower ſalinas, juſt above which was a r on entering the freſh water river, on wh h was not more than nine feet water.

DMIRAL VERNON ſummoned a gene-ral uncil of war, which aſſembled, and was com ſed by the vice admiral, General Went-worth Sir Chaloner Ogle, General Blakeney, Colone Lowther, Colonel Cochran, Captain Mayne, and Captain Cotterell.

At a gene l council of war, held on board his majeſty's ſhip the Cumberland, the 20th of July, 1741.

'THE council having aſſembled to conſider 'of the propereſt methods of proceeding, in 'execution of the reſolution of the council of 'war

' war of the 26th of May laſt, and in compli- CHAP.
' ance with his majeſty's general inſtructions. I.

' AND having laid before them, by Vice Ad- 1741.
' miral Vernon, his majeſty's inſtructions; the
' information of John Drake, in relation to the
' practicability of the roads between Walthenam
' and St Jago; the information of Henry Ca-
' valier, in relation to the ſituation and ſtrength
' of the Morro caſtle, and other batteries for the
' defence of the harbour of St Jago, and the
' practicableneſs of ſurprizing the Eſtrella and
' Catalina, by coming on the back of them.

' AND having perſonally examined Capt.
' Watſon and Lieutenant Lowther, who had
' been ſent to reconnoitre the approaches to the
' village of Catalina, as far as they were naviga-
' ble, and had both reported, That they found
' every thing exactly to agree with the informa-
' tion of John Drake.

' AND Capt. Rentone likewiſe attended; but
' the council thought his opinion by letter ſuffi-
' cient, of the impracticability of attacking the
' harbour of St Jago immediately by ſea.

' AND the goodneſs of Walthenam harbour
' ſufficiently recommending itſelf, the council
' taking the whole maturely into conſideration,
' unanimouſly reſolved' " Immediately to ſet a-
" bout doing every thing in their power, to
" comply with the principal view of his majeſty's
" inſtructions, that of poſſeſſing themſelves of
" the iſland of Cuba; and for advancing to at-
" tempt to ſurprize and take the batteries above
" the Morro caſtle, if the approaches to them
" were found practicable for the forces; to get
" up to the village of Catalina with the utmoſt
" expedition, and at all events to ſecure that,
" and a communication with Walthenam har-
" bour,

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" bour, as a probable foundation to acquire a " footing in the island of Cuba, and waiting for " further succours, to enable them to complete " the reduction of it.

" AND resolved, That the general be desired " to acquaint the respective governors of the " northern colonies, with their resolution to es- " tablish themselves on Cuba, and wait for his " majesty's further instructions, and desire them " to send what recruits they could raise; and to " assure the inhabitants of their respective colo- " nies, that were willing to endeavour to settle " themselves in Cuba, that they should be sure " to meet with all possible encouragement.

" UNANIMOUSLY resolving, to do all joint- " ly in their power, to secure a footing in this " island, till they received his majesty's further " instructions."

THE landing of the troops was effected with the greatest celerity, and General Wentworth pitched on the first place for halting the forces on the side of the river, about three leagues from the mouth of the harbour. On the 25th the general sent out a detachment of 100 of the American troops and 100 negroes, with a guide, under Major Dunster, to reconnoitre the country; who meeting with an advanced party of the Spaniards of fifty men, under Capt. Don Pedro Guarro, the Spaniards precipitately fled before the detachment without exchanging a shot, leaving them eleven horses, some of their ammunition, and a good deal of jerked beef; and though the Spaniards had another party of twenty-five men lurking in ambuscade, they never attempted to surprize the English, who continuing their reconnoitre, on the 26th arrived at Guantanamo, a house and savanna belonging to Don

Don Pedro Guarro, about fifteen leagues from St Jago, where they discerned another house, about two miles and a half from Guantanamo, over a fine savanna called Cano Vaco, where Major Dunster ordered fifty soldiers, staying himself at the first house with the rest of the forces. On the 28th in the morning, Major Dunster set out for the village of Elleguava, leaving fifty soldiers to take care of the house, and took the other fifty from Cano Vaco, which made in all 150 men; they marched over a pretty steep hill, and disagreeable stoney road, entering the village without resistance about four o'clock in the afternoon, the inhabitants having all abandoned it. The village stands on a high bank, the river running half way round it, abounding with plenty of every thing but bread kind, the plantations not being ripe. Major Dunster being cautious of a surprize by a superior force, at so great a distance from the camp, without advancing any further, continued making little excursions after the horses, cattle, and hogs, to the 2d of August, when he returned to Guantanamo with his detachment, where he found Colonel Cochran and Lieutenant-Colonel Whitford, with 250 soldiers and 100 negroes; who, though they had now 500 men, and the Spaniards no parties considerable enough to oppose them, without marching any further, ordered the whole party to return to the camp, where they arrived on the 4th, having in their march had one man killed by an ambushing party of Spaniards, who had also three men killed on their part at the same time. CHAP. I. 1741.

As the security of the army and all the transports, depended upon the squadron being in a condition to defend the harbour from any surprize

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prize on them, which was to be dreaded, as the Spaniards had ſo ſtrong a force ſo near them at the Havanna; Vice Admiral Vernon therefore took the ſafeſt and moſt prudent precautions for their ſecurity, by forming the beſt diſpoſitions with his ſix capital ſhips in a line, to defend the entrance of Cumberland harbour, having diſpatched the other part of the ſquadron to block up the harbour of St Jago, and to watch the motions of the Spaniſh admiral at the Havanna; and as he had procured ſuch proper intelligence for the land forces to regulate their march to St Jago, and knowing any dilatory proceedings would be attended with the ſame fatal conſequences as the army had ſuffered at Carthagena, he grew impatient for a detachment of the army, purſuant to the reſolution of the council of war, to advance and attempt to ſurprize the batteries of Eſtrella and Catalina, which being, as mentioned in the information of the guide, eaſily practicable, the vice admiral ſtrongly recommended to the generals; promiſing, that either himſelf or Sir Chaloner Ogle would be off the mouth of the harbour of St Jago, to ſecond the attempts of the army in the beſt manner it was poſſible to do. But, inſtead of finding a compliance with his friendly admonitions to the general, tending only to promote the ſucceſs of the royal ſervice, the vice admiral was greatly ſurprized to find, by a letter from the general of the 5th, that he was diffident of being able to proceed further, and that it was impoſſible for any number of men to ſubſiſt many days in the part of which they were then in poſſeſſion; and that he intended calling a council of war to come to a final reſolution.

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THE vice admiral immediately communicated this letter to Sir Chaloner Ogle, which gave them both a very ſenſible mortification, to find the expedition on the point of being abandoned, when there was the greateſt probability of crowning it with a glorious termination. The country was entirely deſerted, except an inconſiderable body of Spaniards that lay lurking up and down, without either the power or inclination to face the Engliſh; and the flying of the women and children to St Jago, muſt increaſe their ſcarcity of proviſions and add to their terror and confuſion, which was ſo great, that the governor and principal inhabitants were conſtantly in the utmoſt dread from an attack over land; and ſo much were they perſuaded of this, that the governor and grandees would not truſt themſelves to ſleep in the town or forts, but repaired every night into the woods to ſleep in ſecurity: ſo that if the general had improved on this conſternation among the Spaniards, and ordered a choſen detachment of 1,000 men, with 1,000 negroes to have gone with them for carrying a week's proviſions, and attacked the upper batteries of the Eſtrella and Santa Catalina, which they might have done in three days, he would thereby ſoon have determined the fate of St Jago: for ſuch a general confuſion had prepoſſeſſed the Spaniards, they muſt have eaſily ſucceeded; which was afterwards ſupported by the intelligence procured from all the Spaniſh intercepted letters. CHAP. I. 1741.

HAD this deſign been executed, as the vice admiral would have been at hand to have puſhed into the harbour, the town of St Jago, and all the reſt, would have fallen of courſe; eſpecially as the Spaniards had but little ammunition of any ſort, and the town being open, would have

PART II. 1741. been under the command of the guns of the ſquadron. But by an unhappy fatality this opportunity was neglected; and the general, having aſſembled a council of war on the 9th, it was reſolved, "That they could not march any "body of their troops further into the country, "without expoſing them to certain ruin; and "that they were firmly of opinion, that their "advancing with the army to St Jago, in their "preſent circumſtances, was impracticable." The principal part of theſe objections, were founded on the difficulty of marching the army to St Jago without cannon; which was what the officers of the ſquadron never conceived to be neceſſary, as they had always adviſed a ſudden attack on the batteries, by a ſelect number of the choiceſt troops.

ON the 13th a general council of war aſſembled, at which were preſent both the officers of the navy and army; when the officers of the army declared, "They thought it impracti-"cable to advance further into the country:" a circumſtance extremely diſagreeable to the naval officers, and quite contrary to their opinions; but as their inſtructions gave no authority to the naval officers to deliberate on the regulations of the army by land, Vice Admiral Vernon and Sir Chaloner Ogle, after ſuggeſting their opinions to the land officers, and leaving with them copies of all the evidence they had procured, exhorted them to do the utmoſt of their power for the honour and ſervice of the Britiſh nation; and ſeparated without thinking any new reſolutions neceſſary to be formed.

THE different ſentiments, of the officers in the ſea and land ſervice, gave Vice Admiral Vernon the deepeſt concern; he had faithfully and diligently diſcharged his duty, but if his abilities had been

been superior to what he had already evinced them, the vice admiral found how vain must be all his attempts, if unequally yoked to such as were to contribute to the execution of them; therefore, though not acquainted with Lord Cathcart but in his general character, no man more sincerely mourned the loss his majesty's service had in so valuable a commander: the vice admiral believed his successor to be an honest well-meaning gentleman, but had seen no apparent proof to set him in the light of an experienced general; and all his counsellors appeared to be actuated by such general principles, as served to manifest to the vice admiral their dispositon of returning home, and fearing to furnish occasions for their longer residence in a climate so disagreeable to their inclinations.

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THOUGH the vice admiral, from the reports made to him by several experienced officers, was fully convinced of the impracticability of forcing a passage into the narrow entrance of the harbour of St Jago, unless the batteries lying above the Morro castle had been first surprized and taken: yet, under a concern for having so little done, where nothing had appeared to oppose the progress of so large a force as had been landed, and then lay quiet in their camp, he determined to go, and personally view the entrance into the said harbour: he sailed up there in the Orford, together with the Montagu, on the 4th of September, and carefully reconnoitring the harbour of St Jago, found it to be all an iron shore, and no anchorage off it; and that it was not a safe harbour, even for a friendly ship to frequent; for they must run in close to the shore, to windward off the mouth of the harbour, and must drive down close under the

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Morro caſtle, drop an anchor there, and then warp in. Had the ſcheme for attacking the town by ſea appeared practicable in any light, the vice admiral, vexed with a conduct that ſeemed to him unaccountable in the general, he would have been as reſolute as any man; but as he muſt encounter ſo many difficulties, he could not reſolve to throw his majeſty's ſquadron away againſt the rocks, without the leaſt appearance of ſucceſs.

SICKNESS, the certain attendant of indolence and inactivity in the warm climates of America, had began to ſpread among the forces in their encampment, inſomuch that they had already loſt above 200 officers; the general acquainted Vice Admiral Vernon, that if they ſuſtained any greater diminution through their preſent illneſs, that they would be unable even to maintain themſelves in their encampment: but the admiral, acquainting him that a letter from Sir Charles Wager had given him information that a reinforcement of 2,000 men might be daily expected from England, endeavoured to perſuade him, if he could not advance any further, to continue in the advantageous poſt he had poſſeſſed, and wait the arrival of the expected ſuccours, to complete the reduction of the whole, or the eaſtern part of the iſland: which, in a general council of war, held on the 28th of October, after declaring their inability of attacking the Havanna, La Vera Cruz, Mexico, Carthagena, and Panama, was unanimouſly reſolved upon.

NOTWITHSTANDING this reſolution, as the army was ſoon after ſeized with a general ſickneſs, having loſt the greateſt part of their number, and the ſurvivors daily dying, the general ſummoned

ſummoned a council of war, conſiſting of the land officers, who met on the 7th of November, and declared their opinion, "That no time "ought to be loſt in embarking the troops on "board their tranſports; and that it might be "done with the utmoſt expedition, they thought "all the aſſiſtance which could be had from the "fleet was neceſſary, for which end proper ap- "plication was without delay to be made to "Vice Admiral Vernon." Upon which the re-imbarkation of the troops was effected on the 20th of November, without having a ſingle ſhot fired at either the army or tranſports.

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ON the 25th the general council of war aſſembled, and having a difference in ſentiments of what was moſt for the royal ſervice, the land officers determined to return with the tranſports to Jamaica, and the naval officers reſolved to proceed to meet the expected reinforcement, after ſeeing the tranſports diſpatched under proper convoys; the vice admiral having before diſpatched part of the ſquadron to cruize for, and give him notice of their arrival.

THE flotilla and tranſports having fallen down the river, to which the vice admiral had given the name of Auguſta, in honour of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, proceeded to ſea on the 28th; and the vice admiral on the 6th of December, put to ſea with his remaining ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line, a fire-ſhip, an hoſpital ſhip, and two tenders, and proceeded to cruize off Hiſpaniola, in expectation of meeting the reinforcement from England.

BY theſe unhappy diſſentions between the naval and land officers, was this important enterprize abandoned, with a more ſhameful aſpect on the part of the army, than their late fatal repulſe

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pulse before Carthagena; a too signal instance how the most promising attempts are easily frustrated, by dividing the command between land and sea officers; which, on expeditions in this part of the globe, must frequently be prevented by a dissonance in opinions. Nor did this undertaking prove materially detrimental to the Spaniards; no forts were demolished, no troops defeated, the country sustained little prejudice from irruptions, and the whole damage to the inhabitants was entirely insignificant, any further than by depopulating the country, letting their plantations run to ruin, and impoverishing them by preventing the cultivation of the settlements; as also, by terrifying them with the thoughts of compelling them to relinquish their habitations; and by the great concourse of people herding in St Jago, the governor for their subsistance was forced upon the wretched expedient, put in practice by King James II. in Ireland, of coining a copper money, which he issued for dollars and ryals, obliging a currency of them, under promises that the Vice Roy of Mexico should make good any loss to accrue from the use of them. Though activity was preserved in the navy; and the Worcester, during the encampment of the troops, took a Spanish man of war of twenty-four guns and 220 men; the Defiance took a register ship of 350 tons, twelve guns, and fifty men, laden with provisions for Carthagena; and the Shoreham took another register ship, with 70,000 pieces of eight on board.

THE Spaniards were, and remained long, in ignorance, unable to guess what it was that kept the army from marching on after they landed; and used to say merrily to one another, they believed the English were come to a hunting match

in

in their woods, and not with any hoſtile deſign againſt the inhabitants. The ſurprizing inactivity of the commanding officers of the army, both at Carthagena and Cuba, was no leſs matter of aſtoniſhment to the general part of England: but it is perceptible enough, ſuch proceedings were ſupported, by the direction of the miniſtry, to avoid alarming the French; for if they did not authorize or countenance ſuch proceedings, why did they ſtill continue to entruſt the direction of the army to the ſame officer? which, otherwiſe, is the more amazing, as all England knew the reaſonable and avowed diſlike, the vice admiral had to his coalition with a commanding officer, of whoſe abilities it was impoſſible for him to give the leaſt approbation: if this viſible miſconduct and imprudence, at which the whole nation loudly repeated their abhorrence and diſguſt, had not been protected by the arms, or ſheltered under the wings of the miniſterial ſanction; how is it to be reconciled with the views of a juſt, uninfluenced adminiſtration, when meaſures ſo atrocious in their nature, attended with the loſs of ſo many men, and ſuch a profuſion of money, never received the leaſt public enquiry? when at the ſame time the commander of the fleet, as it was univerſally known, was not only deſirous of, but earneſtly ſollicited it: or elſe, if this was not the caſe, it muſt be a confederacy among the ſuperior officers, who might have been weary of ſo intemperate a climate as the Weſt Indies, and were very unwilling to take ſuch vigorous ſteps, as would give them the leaſt poſſibility of making acquiſitions in a country ſo averſe to their inclinations; becauſe, if they had taken poſſeſſion of any part of the Spaniſh territories, they expected to continue there

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there in garriſon: and there is evidence enough to confirm the probability of theſe conjectures, not only from what one of the field officers told a certain captain, now an admiral of the fleet, in their paſſage from Jamaica to Cuba, which was, "That he knew the army would not even "land." And after the general council of war held on the 20th of July, reported to the ſame gentleman, "That the army would not move "from their encampment on the river ſide:" but alſo from the general diſagreement promoted between the European and American ſoldiers, for which the former were acquainted they were only hazarding their lives to procure a ſettlement for the latter; and indeed, to procure a ſettlement was the chief purpoſe for which the Americans had entered into the ſervice.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

The passage of COMMODORE ANSON round CAPE HORN into the PACIFIC OCEAN; the taking and burning of PAITA; and the distresses the ENGLISH squadron underwent in those seas: with the misfortunes of PIZARRO, the SPANISH admiral, by attempting to follow the ENGLISH squadron round CAPE HORN.

COMMODORE ANSON on the 18th of January, pursued his voyage from the island of St Catherine's for Port St Julian; and as he was then proceeding to an hostile, or at least, a desart and inhospitable coast, expecting a more boisterous climate to the southward, he issued orders to the captains, before their departure from St Catherine's, "That in case of separation, the first place of rendezvous should "be the bay of Port St Julian, where they were "to take in a supply of salt; and if, after a stay "of ten days, they were not joined by the commodore, they were then to proceed through "the streights Le Maire, round Cape Horn, "into

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" into the South Seas; where, the next place of " rendezvous was to be the island of Noſtra Se- " nora de Socoro, in the latitude of 45 deg. " ſouth, and longitude from the Lizard 71 deg. " 12 m. weſt; and from thence they were to " continue their courſe to the iſland of Juan " Fernandes, in the latitude of 33 deg. 37 m. " ſouth; where, after they had recruited their " wood and water, they were to continue off " the anchoring place for fifty-ſix days; in which " time, if the commodore did not join them, " they were to put themſelves under the com- " mand of the ſenior officer, who was to con- " tinue in thoſe ſeas as long as his proviſions " laſted to permit him, and to uſe his utmoſt " endeavours to annoy the Spaniards both by " ſea and land; when he was to proceed to Ma- " cao, at the entrance of the river of Canton, " on the coaſt of China; and afterwards, with- " out delay, to make the beſt of his way for " England."

UNDER theſe orders the ſquadron ſailed for Port St Julian: a few days after, the Pearl ſeparated from the ſquadron, when the captain died; and on the 10th of February the lieutenant ſaw five large ſhips, which he for ſome time imagined to be the Britiſh ſquadron, ſo that he ſuffered the commanding ſhip, which wore a red broad pendant, exactly reſembling that of Commodore Anſon, at the main top-maſt head, to come within gun ſhot of him before he diſcovered his miſtake; but then finding it not to be the Centurion, he halled cloſe upon the wind, and crowded from them with all his ſail; and ſtanding croſs a ripling, where they heſitated to follow him, he happily eſcaped. This was Pizarro's ſquadron, who had received ſuch poſitive information

tion of the Britiſh ſquadron, and had been ſo well inſtructed in the form and make of the broad pendant of the Centurion, that he had like to have decoyed the Pearl into the ſnare of captivity. CHAP. II. 1741.

On the 18th the Britiſh ſquadron anchored in the bay of St Julian, where the Pearl having joined the commodore, the lieutenant informed him of what had happened ſince their ſeparation; and had it not been for the abſolute neceſſity the commodore was under of refitting the Tryal, this intelligence would have prevented his making any ſtay at St Julian; but as it was impoſſible for the ſloop to proceed round the cape in her preſent condition, ſome ſtay there was unavoidable, to put her in repair, which was immediately begun. During their continuance here, the commodore appointed Capt. Murray to ſucceed Capt. Kidd in the Pearl, gave the Wager to Capt. Cheap, and promoted Lieutenant Saunders to the command of the Tryal ſloop: and as it was apprehended they ſhould certainly meet with the Spaniſh ſquadron in paſſing the cape, the commodore ordered the captains, "To put "all their proviſions, which were in the way of "their guns, on board the Anna pink, and to "remove ſuch of their guns as had formerly, "for the eaſe of their ſhips, been ordered into "the hold."

The Tryal being almoſt refitted, as they were directly bound for the South Seas, the commodore thought it neceſſary to fix the plan of his firſt operations; and, on the 24th of February, a council of war was held on board the Centurion, by the naval captains and Colonel Cracherode, when the commodore informed them, "That it was an article in his inſtructions to en-

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" deavour to secure some port in the South Seas, " where the ships might be careened and refit- " ted;" he therefore proposed, that their first attempt, on their arrival in the South Seas, should be the attack of the town and harbour of Baldivia, the principal frontier of the district of Chili. To this proposition the council unanimously and readily agreed; and, in consequence of this resolution, new instructions were given to the captains of the squadron, by which, " They were " directed, in case of separation, to cruize off " the island of Neustra Senora de Socoro only " ten days, from whence, if not joined by the " commodore, they were to proceed and cruize " off the harbour of Baldivia; and if, in four- " teen days, they were not joined by the rest of " the squadron, they were then to proceed to " the island of Juan Fernandes, and regulate " their further proceedings by their former or- " ders; and as the separation of the squadron " might prove of the utmost prejudice to the " service, each captain was ordered, not to " keep his ship at a greater distance than two " miles from the Centurion."

THESE necessary regulations being established, and the Tryal sloop being completed, the squadron weighed on the 27th of February, and stood to sea; and on the 7th of March passed the streights Le Maire, very unfortunately attempting the passage of Cape Horn at such an improper season of the year, to which they were necessitated by their too late departure from England, and which was the fatal source of all the misfortunes they afterwards encountered. For after a continual series of the greatest calamities, from the severity of the most tempestuous weather, in which the whole squadron was separated,

ed, and their crews prodigiously diminished by the hardships and fatigues they were perpetually and unavoidably exposed to; the commodore at length, after surmounting the most perilous and amazing difficulties, on the 30th of November, completed his passage round the cape, and arrived in the confines of the southern ocean, denominated Pacific from the equability of the seasons prevailing, and the security of the navigation carried on there; and, after a loss of 200 men, the commodore on the 8th of May, got sight of the island of Socoro, which was the first rendezvous appointed for the squadron; and, hoping to meet with the dispersed ships, he cruized for them in that station several days: but disappointed in his expectations, and after struggling with more turbulent storms, and an increase of malignant distempers, finding their deplorable situation allowed no room for deliberation, the commodore stood for the island of Juan Fernandes; where, after much disappointment, and a further loss of eighty men, they arrived on the 9th of June. As the crew of the Centurion were, at that time, in an inconceivable state of debility, their water exhausted, and their officers, without distinction, obliged to assist in navigating the ship; in this calamitous condition, it is scarcely credible with what joy and transport they viewed the land, and with how much impatience they longed for the verdure and other refreshments then opening on their eyes: but nothing exceeded their motions, when they beheld the pleasing prospect of a pure living stream, that powered down in a transparent cascade, from a rock near a hundred feet high, into the sea, at a small distance from the ship. On the 11th they entered the harbour, being the same day joined by the Tryal, who

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had

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had loſt thirty-four men ſince their ſeparation, and ſuffered hardſhips not inferior to thoſe ſuſtained by the Centurion. But they could perceive no appearance of the other part of the ſquadron.

THIS iſland of Juan Fernandes, is 110 leagues from the continent of Chili, and the only commodious place in thoſe ſeas, where Britiſh cruizers can refreſh and recover their men after their paſſage round Cape Horn; and where they may remain for ſome time, without alarming the Spaniſh coaſt: this rendered their ſituation the more agreeable, eſpecially as they were to wait three months, in hopes of the other ſhips joining them at the rendezvous.

NOTWITHSTANDING their deſire of freeing the ſick from their loathſome confinement, and their own extreme impatience to get on ſhore, they had not hands ſufficient to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that, and the two following days, they were all ſent on ſhore, amounting to 167 perſons, beſides twelve or fourteen who died in the boats, occaſioned by the too violent preſſure of the freſh air on their weak and ſpiritleſs bodies; and as this was a work of conſiderable fatigue to the few who were healthy, the commodore, with his accuſtomed humanity, not only gave his perſonal aſſiſtance, but obliged his officers, without diſtinction, to participate in the labour. Though they now expected from the produce and refreſhment of the iſland, a ſpeedy recovery to their infirm companions; yet, to their great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing, before the mortality was tolerably abated; and for the firſt ten or twelve days, they buried generally ſix in a day, and thoſe who revived,

ed, recovered by very ſlow and inſenſible degrees. On the 21ſt the people on ſhore diſcovered a ſail, but the ſhip diſappearing for ſome days, it was the 26th before they could diſtinguiſh her to be the Glouceſter, commanded by Capt. Mitchel, whoſe crew had been reduced by deaths, to leſs than fourſcore, and the remainder afflicted with the ſame painful illneſs as had happened to the crews on ſhore. As there was no doubt of her being in great diſtreſs, the commodore immediately ordered his boat to her aſſiſtance, laden with freſh water, fiſh and vegetables, with which the iſland abounded, and was a very ſeaſonable relief to the Glouceſter; for they had been a conſiderable time at the ſmall allowance of a pint of freſh water to each man for twenty-four hours, and yet they had ſo little left, that had it not been for this ſupply, they muſt ſoon have periſhed by the exceſs of thirſt; but though the commodore ſent part of his men on board the Glouceſter, to aſſiſt her in fetching the road; yet, after an infinite ſcene of trouble, ſhe was not able to enter the bay till the 23d of July, having continued above a month, frequently and vainly attempting it.

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As the men were now tolerably recovered, they diligently fell to cleaning their ſhips, filling their water, cutting down trees, and ſplitting them into billets. As four ſhips of the ſquadron were miſſing, and Capt. Mitchel having diſcovered the ſmall iſland called Maſa Fuero, lying about twenty-two leagues to the weſtward of Juan Fernandes, and from the deſcription he gave, the commodore conjecturing that ſome of them might poſſibly have fallen in with, and miſtaken that iſland, for the place of rendezvous; he thereupon ordered the Tryal thither,

to

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to be satisfied whether any of the missing ships were there or not; but this sloop returned without bringing the least intelligence of any of them. In the mean time the commodore caused to be erected a copper oven on shore, to bake bread for the sick; but it happened, that the greatest part of the flour for the use of the squadron was embarked on board the victualler, the Anna pink; and all June and July being past without any news of her, she was given over for lost, and the commodore ordered all the ships to a short allowance of bread. But they were soon after relieved from this mortification, by the arrival of the Anna pink, which came to anchor in the bay on the 16th of August; though not without encountering her share of the difficulties, to which the whole squadron was exposed. This vessel was the last that joined the commodore; the remaining ships of the squadron were the Severn, Pearl, and Wager store ship; the other victualler having delivered her provisions, and being discharged before the passage round Cape Horn. These ships all underwent very signal disasters; the Severn and Pearl parted company with the squadron off Cape Noir, and put back to the Brazils.

WHILST Capt. Cheap, in the Wager, seemed to have all the complicated extremities suffered by the rest of the squadron, discharged on his own head; for having on board a few field pieces mounted for land service, some coehorn mortars, and several kinds of artillery, stores, and pioneers tools, intended for the operations on shore; and as the enterprize on Baldivia had been resolved on for the first undertaking of the squadron, the captain was extremely solicitous that these materials might be ready, if the squa-

dron

dron ſhould rendezvous there: and whilſt the Wager, with theſe views, was making the beſt of her way to the firſt rendezvous, off the iſland of Socoro, whence ſhe propoſed to ſteer directly for Baldivia, ſhe made the land on the 14th of May, about the latitude of 47 deg. ſouth; and the crazy condition of the ſhip, being little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to ſea, and entangled her more and more with the land, inſomuch that the next morning, at day-break, ſhe ſtruck on a ſunken rock, and ſoon after, bildging, grounded between two ſmall iſlands, at about a muſquet ſhot from the ſhore, and was entirely loſt; but not before the crew had ſufficient time to make their eſcape to land in the boats, with great part of the proviſions. They were now on a deſolate coaſt, and had every dreadful ſcene of horror preſented to their imaginations; and this, their deplorable ſtate, was greatly aggravated by the ungovernable anarchy and diſorder of the crew; who, fond of acting at their liberty without controul, refuſed obedience to their officers, imagining that their commiſſions expired with the loſs of the ſhip. Hence followed thoſe fatal feuds, and malevolent diſſentions, which nearly terminated in their utter ruin, and total deſtruction; for the captain, anxious for the preſervation of them all, determined, if poſſible, to fit up the boats in the beſt manner he could, and proceed to the northward; ſince having with him above 100 healthy men, and having gotten ſome fire arms and ammunition from the wreck, he thought he could not fail of meeting a Spaniſh veſſel in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, and doubted not but they ſhould maſter any they encountered with in thoſe ſeas; in which, if they

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had ſucceeded, the captain intended to proceed to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandes: and if they ſhould light on no prize in the way, yet he thought the boats alone would carry them thither.

BUT however prudently this ſcheme was deſigned, it was diſreliſhed by the generality of the people; for being quite jaded with the diſtreſſes and dangers they had already run through, and allured by the deluſive hopes of returning to their native country, they could not think of continuing an enterprize, which had been already attended with ſo many diſaſtrous incidents: therefore their common reſolution was, to lengthen the long-boat, and with that, and the reſt of the boats, to ſteer to the ſouthward, (diametrically oppoſite to the ſcheme propoſed by their captain) to paſs through the ſtreights of Magellan, and to range along the eaſt ſide of South America, till they ſhould arrive at Brazil, where they expected to procure a paſſage to Great Britain: and though this project ſeemed to be more hazardous and tedious than the other, yet they perſiſted in it with inflexible obſtinacy, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the captain againſt ſo improper a proceedure, who, by his ſteady oppoſition to this favourite project, incurred their diſlike, and ſo far leſſened himſelf in their eſteem as to be inſulted with the moſt contemptible and brutal ſcurrility. Towards the middle of October the long-boat was nearly completed, and every preparatory meaſure uſed for putting to ſea: but the crew, ſtill apprehenſive that the captain might influence a party to overturn their deſign, laid hold of a plauſible pretext, to ſecure him from any ſuch attempt; this was the death of one of their midſhipmen,

fatally

fatally and inadvertently committed by the captain, on a ſuſpicion of mutiny: on this pretence they confined their commander under a guard, threatening to carry him a priſoner to England to be tried for the murder; but when they were juſt ready to put to ſea they releaſed him; leaving him, and the few that choſe to ſhare his fortunes, no other embarkation but the yawl and barge. During their ſtay upon this place, which they called Wager iſland, thirty of them died, and fourſcore went off in the long-boat converted into a ſchooner, and cutter, to the ſouthward on the 13th of October; leaving nineteen with the captain, among whom were Mr Hamilton, lieutenant of marines; the Honourable Mr Byron and Mr Campbell, midſhipmen; and Mr Elliot, the ſurgeon; who honourably and voluntarily choſe to accompany their commander in a country of danger and deſolation. It was the 29th of January before the ſchooner arrived at Rio Grande on the coaſt of Brazil, when by various accidents their whole number was diminiſhed to no more than thirty. CHAP. II. 1741.

CAPT. CHEAP, and his few faithful aſſociates, after the departure of their ungenerous ſhipmates, propoſed to paſs to the northward in the barge and yawl, though they were not able to embark till the 14th of December: but after many difficulties, and the loſs of ſix of their company, they were compelled to return to Wager iſland; where they got back about the middle of February, quite diſheartened, and dejected, with their reiterated diſappointments, and almoſt periſhing with hunger and fatigue. Soon after two canoes of Indians arrived at the iſland, having among them a native of Chiloe who ſpoke a little Spaniſh, and Mr Elliot the

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surgeon, being capable of converſing with him in that language, bargained with the Indian, that if he would carry the captain and his people to the iſland of Chiloe, in the barge, he ſhould have her and all that belonged to her for his trouble: accordingly, on the 6th of March, the company, which was now reduced to eleven, embarked in the barge on this new expedition; but, after having proceeded for a few days, the Captain, Mr Hamilton, Mr Byron, Mr Campbell, and Mr Elliot, being on ſhore, the ſix, who together with an Indian remained in the barge, put off with her to ſea, and did not return again; while the captain, and the reſt on ſhore, were ſtruck with the moſt diſmaying reflections; without proviſions, arms, or ammunition, to procure the leaſt comfortable ſubſiſtence, to chear their deſpairing minds in this deſolate ſituation: but when they were revolving the various circumſtances of this unexpected calamity, they happily perceived another canoe, at a diſtance, which belonged to one of the Indians they had before ſeen; and who, after being convinced of the ſafety of his companion, carried them to Chiloe, where they arrived after a very complicated paſſage by land and water, in the beginning of June, having buried Mr Elliot by the way, and were received and entertained by the Spaniards with great humanity; and from thence were conducted to Valpairaſo, and afterwards to St Jago, the capital of Chili; where they continued above a year, when the Spaniards receiving advice of a cartel being ſettled between Great Britain and Spain, the Captain, Mr Byron, and Mr Hamilton, were permitted to return to Europe on board a French ſhip, the other midſhipman having changed his religion whilſt

whilſt at St Jago, and entered on board the ſquadron under Admiral Pizarro at Buenos Ayres. CHAP. II.

THE commodore, with the Centurion, Glouceſter, Tryal, and Anna pink, continued at Juan Fernandes, in repairing their ſhips and waiting for the reſidue of his ſcattered ſquadron, until September 1740; having now on board the Centurion only 214 men; the Glouceſter had only 82 remaining alive; and the Tryal but 39. The victualler being diſcharged, and declared incapable of returning to England, the commodore purchaſed the hull and furniture for 300*l.* and the hands, being 16, were ſent on board the Glouceſter. 1741.

THESE three men of war departed from England with 961 men on board; and having loſt 626, the whole of their remaining crews, excluſive of the 16 men from the victualler which were now to be diſtributed amongſt the three ſhips, amounted to no more than 335, with boys included; a number greatly inſufficient for the manning the Centurion alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three with the utmoſt exertion of their ſtrength and vigour. This unfortunate reduction was the more terrifying, as they dreaded the purſuit of Pizarro's ſquadron, and had ſome obſcure knowledge of a force to be ſent out from Callao, the port of Lima, to obſtruct their enterprize in the South Seas. However, in this weakly condition, the commodore determined to himſelf, to ſail down the coaſt, and touch in the neighbourhood of Panama; hoping to get ſome correſpondence over land with the fleet commanded by Admiral Vernon: for the commodore, on his departure from England, left Sir Chaloner Ogle at Portſmouth, with a large

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large force destined for the West Indies; and the commodore was directed, by his majesty's instructions, "That as he might find an opportunity to send privately over land to Porto Bello, or Darien; he was, by that means, to endeavour to transmit to any of his majesty's ships or forces that should be on that coast, an account of what he had done, or intended to do; and, least any such intelligence should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, he was to use a cypher, that had been given him, to correspond with the British admiral that might be in the north seas of America, or the commander in chief of the forces." The commodore was acquainted, by his instructions, of the destination of the troops sent to the West Indies, under the command of Lord Cathcart; and was ordered, that "If those forces should go to Porto Bello or Darien, with a design to march to Panama or Santa Maria; to make the best dispositions to assist them in making a secure settlement, either at Panama or any other proper place, and supply them with cannon, or any thing else, to be spared, without weakening the squadron; and if they should want soldiers, to reinforce them with those on board his squadron, with consent of the proper officer." And believing that Porto Bello might be then garrisoned by British troops, the commodore hoped, on his arrival at the Isthmus, to procure an intercourse with them, either by the Indians or some of the lucrative Spaniards; and flattering himself, that by this means he might receive a reinforcement of men from Porto Bello, he was in hopes, by settling a prudent plan of operations with the British commanders in the West Indies, even to take Panama,

Panama, and thereby obtain the poſſeſſion of the Iſthmus of Darien, and the treaſures of Peru: and had the ſucceſs of the Britiſh land forces in the Weſt Indies been anſwerable to the general expectation, theſe views were certainly the moſt prudential that could have been concerted. CHAP. II. 1741.

THE ſeaſon for navigating, in this climate, approaching; they exerted their labour and vigilance to get their ſhips in readineſs for the ſea: and on the 8th of September, eſpying a ſail to the N. E. the Centurion immediately got all hands on board, and by five in the afternoon got under ſail for the chace; but loſing ſight of the ſhip, and vainly continuing the purſuit, they determined to come back to Juan Fernandes; and in their return, on the 13th, were agreeably ſurprized with the ſight of a ſail on their weather bow, between four and five leagues diſtant, as ſhe was a Spaniſh merchant ſhip, in conſort with another trading veſſel, which was the ſame that led the Centurion from the iſland: and this ſhip, miſtaking the Centurion for her conſort, at firſt bore down upon her, which induced the commodore to ſuſpect ſhe was a ſhip of force; who thereupon cleared his ſhip ready for an engagement, and ſoon after took her without any reſiſtance. The prize was called Nueſtra Senora del Monte Carmelo, commanded by Don Manuel Zamorra, burthen 450 ton, having fifty-three ſailors, blacks and whites, and twenty-five paſſengers on board; her cargo conſiſting of ſugar, cloth, cotton, and tobacco, together with ſome trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three ſerons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200 lb averdupois; and was bound from Callao, to the port of Valparaiſo in the kingdom

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kingdom of Chili. The commodore here firſt learnt, from his priſoners, the force and deſtination of Pizarro's ſquadron; and had the ſatisfaction to find, that the Spaniſh admiral, after his utmoſt efforts to paſs Cape Horn, had been forced back again into the river of Plate, with the loſs of two of his largeſt ſhips.

THE next morning the Centurion, with her prize, diſcovered Juan Fernandes, and the following day they both came to an anchor; but when the Spaniards ſaw the Tryal, they were prodigiouſly aſtoniſhed, and could hardly be perſuaded ſhe came from England; long inſiſting, that it was impoſſible ſuch a ſmall ſhip could make the paſſage of Cape Horn, when the beſt ſhips of Spain were obliged to return.

FROM the accounts of the priſoners, and on examination of the letters found on board the prize, it appeared that ſeveral other merchantmen were bound from Callao, to Valpairaſo; on which the commodore, the very next morning, diſpatched the Tryal to cruize off the latter port, with a reinforcement of ten hands from on board his own ſhip: and alſo, on this intelligence, the commodore reſolved to ſeparate the ſhips, and employ them in diſtinct cruizes; as he would thereby increaſe his chance for prizes, and run a leſs riſque of alarming the coaſt, and occaſioning a diſcovery. He found this earneſt of ſucceſs had animated his men, and diſſipated their deſpondency: this gave the commodore a tranſcendant pleaſure, and he determined to commence ſome hoſtilities on the coaſt. Having ſent on board the Glouceſter ſix priſoners and 23 ſeamen, to aſſiſt in navigating the ſhip; he directed Capt. Mitchel to leave the iſland as ſoon as poſſible, ordering him "To

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" proceed to the latitude of 5 deg. south, and there to cruize off the high land of Paita, at such a distance from shore as should prevent his being discovered: on this station he was to continue till joined by the commodore; which would be, whenever it should be known that the vice roy had fitted out the ships at Callao, or on the commodore's receiving any other intelligence that should make it necessary to unite their strength." On delivering these orders to the captain of the Glouceſter, having completed his quantity of wood and water, the commodore weighed anchor on the 19th of September, in company with the prize, and got out of the bay; taking his last farewel of the island of Juan Fernandes, and steering to the eastward, with an intention of joining the Tryal sloop in her station off Valparisa, leaving the Glouceſter at anchor in the bay.

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On the 24th the Centurion met with the Tryal, who had taken a prize called the Arranzazu, of 600 ton, proceeding on the same voyage, and with much the same cargo with the Carmelo, except that her silver amounted only to about 5,000 *l.* sterling. The Tryal soon after had the misfortune to spring her main mast; and the captain and other officers representing to the commodore, that she was very leaky in her hull, and otherwise so defective, that if they met with much bad weather they must all inevitably perish; and, as it was impossible to refit her with the necessary reparations, the commodore ordered her to be scuttled and sunk; and, to keep up the appearance of his force, appointed the Tryal's prize to be a frigate in the royal service, manning her with the Tryal's crew, and giving commissions to the captain

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and all the inferior officers accordingly: she was mounted with twenty guns, twelve from the Tryal and eight that belonged to the Anna pink, and was to be called the Tryal prize. The commodore ordered Capt. Saunders, "After he had "sunk the Tryal, to cruize off the high land of "Valparisa, keeping it from him N. N. W. "at the distance of fourteen leagues; to conti- "nue on that station twenty-four days, and "then, if not joined by the commodore, to "proceed down the coast to Pisco or Nasca, "where he would be certain to meet the com- "modore:" and Lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded the Centurion's prize, was ordered to keep company with Capt. Saunders. These orders being dispatched, the Centurion parted from the other vessels on the 27th of September at night, directing her course to the southward, with a view of cruizing for some days to the windward of Valparisa; but having an unsuccessful cruize, on the 6th of October the commodore sailed to leeward of the port to join the prizes: not finding them, though he continued three or four days where they were directed to cruize, he proceeded down the coast to the island of Nasca, where he got on the 21st, and never saw the prizes till the 2d of November; and, as they had the like ill success, the commodore apprehending an embargo along the coast, and the equipment of a squadron from Calloa, resolved to hasten down to the leeward of Calloa, to join Capt. Mitchel off Paita; that, uniting his strength, they might be able to give the ships from Calloa a warm reception, if they dared to put to sea. With this view he bore away the same afternoon, and on the 5th of November, being advanced within view of the high land of Barranca,

ranca, in the latitude of 10 deg. 36 m. south, the next day he took the Santa Teresa de Jesus, of 300 ton, bound from Guaiaquil to Calloa, with an unprofitable cargo, and forty-seven sailors and ten passengers on board. On the 10th, being near the island of Lobos, in the latitude of 6 deg. 27 m. south, the commodore, drawing near to the station appointed to the Glouceſter, made an easy sail all night, and the next morning took a ship called Nuestra Senora del Carmin, commanded by Marcos Morena, a Venetian, of 270 ton, bound from Calloa, laden with several species of merchandize, which, in their present circumstances was but of little value to the captors; yet, with respect to the Spaniards, it was the most considerable capture made in that part of the world, for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars, prime cost at Panama. The commodore received intelligence from an Irishman on board this prize, that a few days before, a vessel came into Paita, where the master of her informed the governor, that he had been chased in the offing by one of the English squadron, which was the Glouceſter: the governor, satisfied with this relation, sent away an express to acquaint the Vice Roy of Lima therewith; and the royal officer residing at Paita, apprehensive of an English visit, had, from the first hearing of this news, been busily employed in removing the treasure to Puira, a town within land, about fourteen leagues distant. The commodore further learnt from the prisoners, that a very considerable quantity of money, belonging to some merchants at Lima, was then lodged in the custom house at Paita, intended to be shipped on board a vessel in that port, with the utmost expedition: therefore as they were now dis-

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covered, and the coaſt would be ſoon alarmed, the commodore reſolved to endeavour to ſurprize Paita, being minutely acquainted with its ſtrength and condition, and being fully ſatisfied there was little danger of loſing many men in the attempt. The deſign was very eligible; as, beſides the treaſure it promiſed, they might be ſupplied with great quantities of live proviſions, which was much wanted; and alſo have an opportunity of releaſing the priſoners, who were very numerous, and made a greater conſumption of food than their ſtock was long capable of furniſhing.

THE town of Paita is ſituated in the latitude of 5 deg. 12 m. ſouth, on a moſt barren ſoil, compoſed only of ſand and ſlate, containing about 200 houſes, which are only ground floors, the walls built of ſplit cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves, which, though extremely ſlight, are abundantly ſufficient for a climate where rain is conſidered as a prodigy, and not ſeen in many years. The inhabitants are principally Indians, and black ſlaves, or at leaſt a mixed breed, the whites being very few. The port, though in reality little more than a bay, is in the beſt eſtimation of any on that part of the coaſt; and is a very ſecure and commodious anchorage, much frequented by all veſſels coming from the north, being the uſual place where paſſengers, from Acapulco or Panama, bound to Lima, diſ-embark. The town of Paita is open, and its ſole protection and defence was a ſmall fort of eight guns, without either ditch or outwork; being ſurrounded with a plain brick wall: and the garriſon conſiſted only of one weak company, though the town could have armed 300 men more.

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THE commodore, immediately after taking the laſt prize, reſolved to attack Paita that very night; he was then about twelve leagues from the ſhore, far enough to prevent a diſcovery, yet not ſo diſtant but he could arrive in the bay before day-break. However, the commodore prudently conſidered that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as the ſhips might be eaſily ſeen at a diſtance, even in the night, and thereby alarming the inhabitants, give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects: therefore, as the ſtrength of the place did not require his whole force, he reſolved to attempt it with the boats only; ordering an eighteen oared barge and two pinnaces on that ſervice: and having picked out fifty-eight proper men to man them, well furniſhed with arms and ammunition, he entruſted the command of the expedition to Lieutenant Brett, gave him his neceſſary inſtructions, ordered two of the Spaniſh pilots to attend and conduct him to the moſt convenient landing place, and afterwards to be his guides on ſhore, to prevent any diſappointment or confuſion from the ignorance of the ſtreets and paſſages of the place, which might ariſe from the darkneſs of the night; and, to have the greater ſecurity for the behaviour of the guides, the commodore aſſured the priſoners, they ſhould be releaſed at Paita if the pilots acted faithfully; but, in caſe of any miſconduct or treachery, he threatened that the pilots ſhould be inſtantly ſhot, and the Spaniards on board carried priſoners to England. CHAP. II. 1741.

DURING their preparations they were yet at too great a diſtance to be ſeen, the ſhips ſtood towards the port with all the ſail they could make, and about ten o'clock at night, being within

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within five leagues of the place, Lieutenant Brett, with the boats and detachment, put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay without being discovered; though no sooner had he entered it, than some of the people on board a vessel riding at anchor there perceived him, who instantly getting into their boats, rowed towards the fort, shouting and crying, "The English, the English dogs are here;" by which the whole town was alarmed and in great agitation. The lieutenant on this, encouraged his men to pull briskly up, that they might give the Spaniards as little time as possible to prepare for their defence; but before the boats could reach the shore, some of the cannon in the fort were pointed to the landing place, and the first shot came whistling over the boats: this made the crew redouble their efforts, so that they had reached the shore, and were in part disembarked, before the second gun fired. As soon as the men landed, they were conducted by one of the Spanish pilots to the entrance of a narrow street, not above fifty yards from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort, and forming, marched for the parade, which was a large square at the end of this street; the fort being one side of the square, and the governor's house another. The shouts and clamours of this animated detachment, joined with the noise of their drums, and favoured by the gloom of night, which never fails to increase the confusion of such a surprize, had augmented their numbers in the opinion of the Spaniards to at least 300, by which the inhabitants were so intimidated, that they were much more sollicitous about the means of flight than of resistance: so that upon entering the parade, Lieutenant Brett received

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a volley from the merchants who owned the treaſure then in the town, and with a few others, had ranged themſelves in a gallery that ran round the governor's houſe; yet that poſt was immediately abandoned upon the firſt fire from the Engliſh, who were thereby left in quiet poſſeſſion of the parade. CHAP. II. 1741.

On this ſucceſs Lieutenant Brett divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to ſurround the governor's houſe, and if poſſible to ſecure the governor, whilſt he, at the head of the other, marched to the fort, with an intent to force it; but, on his approach, the Spaniards abandoned the fort, making their eſcape over the walls, and the lieutenant, contrary to his expectations, entered it without oppoſition. By this time the other party had ſurrounded the governor's houſe, who had eſcaped half naked, with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving his wife, a young lady of ſeventeen, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him; though ſhe too was afterwards carried off in her ſhift by a couple of centinels, juſt as the detachment, ordered to inveſt the houſe, arrived before it: while the principal part of the inhabitants, ſurprized in their beds, fled without putting on their cloaths in the wildeſt hurry and conſternation; ſo that the few remaining in the town, were no ways formidable enough to attempt the leaſt reſiſtance. Thus was the whole town and fort of Paita, maſtered in leſs than a quarter of an hour from the firſt landing, with no other loſs than one man killed and two wounded; though the Honourable Mr Van Kepple, ſon to the Earl of Albemarle, had a very narrow eſcape from a ball that ſhaved his jockey cap off cloſe

PART II. close to his temples, which however did him no other injury.

1741. LIEUTENANT BRETT, when he had thus far happily succeeded, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the governor's house, appointing centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any surprize from the Spaniards, and to secure the effects in the place from being embezzled: his next care was to seize on the custom house, where the treasure lay, and to confine the small remains of the inhabitants in one of the churches under a guard, except some stout negroes, who were employed the remaining part of the night, to assist in carrying the treasure from the custom house and other places to the fort. But the sailors could not be prevented from entering the houses in search of private pillage, and covering their dirty trowsers and jackets with the embroidered or laced habits of the Spaniards; and those who came last into the fashion, not finding mens cloaths sufficient, equipped themselves in womens gowns and petticoats, so that their lieutenant was extremely surprized when he first saw them thus ridiculously metamorphosed.

DURING the attack on the town, the commodore lay by with the ships till one o'clock in the morning, and then supposing the detachment to be landed, he made an easy sail, and opened the bay about seven, where he had a view of the town, and, through his perspectives, discerned the English colours hoisted on the flagstaff of the fort: he then plied into the bay, and at eleven the Tryal's boat came on board the Centurion laden with dollars and church plate, when the commanding officer acquainted him of the preceeding night's transactions with which

which the commodore was thoroughly pleaſed, only he regretted the eſcape of the governor, as he had particularly recommended it to Lieutenant Brett to ſecure his perſon if poſſible, in hopes he ſhould then be able to treat for the ranſom of the place. About two in the afternoon the commodore anchored in ten fathom and a half water, at a mile and half diſtance from the town; and having a more immediate intercourſe with thoſe on ſhore, he found they had hitherto proceeded in collecting and removing the treaſure without interruption; but the Spaniards rendezvouſing from all parts of the country, having amongſt them 200 horſe, well armed and mounted, with theſe they made their appearance on a hill at the back of the town, where they paraded about with much oſtentation, ſounding their military muſic, and practiſing every art to intimidate the Engliſh to abandon the place, before the pillage was completed: but they were diſappointed in their menaces, for the ſailors went on calmly as long as the day-light laſted, in ſending off the treaſure, with refreſhments of live proviſions, with which they were abundantly ſupplied: however, at night the commodore ſent a reinforcement on ſhore, and the Spaniards continuing quiet all night, at day-break the ſailors renewed their labour in loading and ſending off the boats. They were now convinced of what conſequence it would have been if they had ſecured the governor, for they found many ſtore houſes full of valuable effects, which could be of no uſe to the captors; and for which, if the governor had been in their power, in all probability they might have procured an advantageous ranſom; but he was now too much elated with his military command, and though the commodore ſent

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him repeated meſſages, offering to enter into a treaty for ranſoming the town and goods, threatening too, that if the Spaniards did not condeſcend to treat, he would ſet fire to the town and all the ware-houſes; yet the governor arrogantly deſpiſed all theſe reiterated overtures, and never deſigned to return the leaſt anſwer to the commodore. This day ſeveral negroes deſerted from the Spaniards on the hill, and aſſured the commodore that the Spaniards were increaſed to a formidable number, and reſolved to ſtorm the town and fort the ſucceeding night; however the Engliſh proſecuted their work with unconcern till evening, when another reinforcement was ſent on ſhore, and Lieutenant Brett, doubling his guards, by his marks of vigilance, deterred the Spaniards from their reſolution, though they were at that time treble the number of Engliſh on ſhore, and ſenſible of their great ſuperiority.

HAVING finiſhed ſending the treaſure on board the Centurion, the third morning, being the 15th of November, the boats were employed in carrying off the moſt valuable part of the effects remaining in the town: and the commodore intending to ſail in the afternoon, about ten o'clock, purſuant to his promiſe, ſent all his priſoners, being eighty-eight, on ſhore; giving orders to Lieutenant Brett, "To ſecure them "under a ſtrict guard in one of the churches, "till the men were ready to embark; and alſo "to burn the whole town, except the two "churches, which fortunately ſtood at ſome diſ"tance from the houſes." Theſe orders were punctually complied with; for Lieutenant Brett, finding great quantities of pitch, tar, and other combuſtibles, ſet his men immediately to diſtribute

tribute the ſame into houſes, ſituated in different ſtreets of the town, ſo that the place being at once fired in many quarters, the deſtruction might be the more violent and ſudden, and the Spaniards, after their departure, be the leſs able to extinguiſh it. After making theſe preparations, he nailed up the cannon in the fort; and then ſetting fire to the moſt windward of the houſes, collected his men and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off, which being an open place, he might have been eaſily ſurrounded by the Spaniards; who perceiving his retreat, detached ſixty horſe to precipitate his departure; they marched down the hill with much ſeeming reſolution, but no ſooner had Lieutenant Brett ordered his men to halt and face about, than the Spaniards ſtopped their career, and never dared to advance a ſtep further, permitting the Engliſh to reach the ſquadron without any moleſtation. CHAP. II. 1741.

In the mean time the ſpreading flames had taken poſſeſſion of every part of the town, and by the proper ſituation of the combuſtibles, with the ſlightneſs of the materials of which the houſes were compoſed, and their aptitude to take fire, the whole town, and all its effects, were loſt in one general conflagration.

The booty made by the Engliſh, though inconſiderable of what they deſtroyed, amounted to above 30,000 *l.* ſterling, in wrought plate, dollars, and other coin only; beſides rings, bracelets, and jewels of great value; which was equally divided between the whole ſquadron, as well thoſe on board, as thoſe who had been concerned in the action, over and above the common plunder, which was very great: though the Spaniards ſuſtained a much more infinite loſs

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by the deſtruction of their town, and the burning of profuſe quantities of the richeſt and moſt expenſive ſpecies, as broad cloth, ſilks, cambricks, velvets, and other very valuable effects; for, by a repreſentation tranſmitted to the court of Madrid, the whole loſs was eſtimated at one million and a half of dollars; and this at no extravagant valuation.

THE commodore, on his entrance into the bay, found ſix Spaniſh veſſels at anchor; one whereof, called the Solidad, was the ſhip, which according to their intelligence, was to have ſailed with the treaſure to the coaſt of Mexico, and being a good ſailor, the commodore reſolved to add this veſſel to the ſquadron, and ordered a crew of ten men to navigate her, under the command of Lieutenant Hughes of the Tryal; the other five veſſels were, two ſnows, a bark, and two row-gallies, which the Spaniards, with many others, had built at different ports, to prevent any deſcent from the commodore in the neighbourhood of Callao, as they were ſuſpicious he would attack the city of Lima; but the commodore having no occaſion for theſe veſſels, ordered them to be ſcuttled and ſunk.

BEING ſafely joined by the detachment under Lieutenant Brett, the commodore prepared to leave the place the ſame evening; and being augmented to ſix ſail, towards midnight weighed anchor and ſailed out of the bay, with the Centurion and Tryal's prize, together with the Carmelo, Tereſa, Carmin, and Solidad prizes; and ſtanding to the weſtward, on the 16th of November in the morning, the commodore gave orders "For the whole ſquadron to ſpread themſelves in queſt of the Glouceſter;" whom they diſcovered and came up with the next morning,

morning, and found ſhe had taken a ſmall ſnow, laden with wine, brandy, and olives, with 7,000*l.* in ſpecie; and alſo a barge, with double doubloons and dollars on board, to the amount of 12,000*l.* As the commodore, on inſpecting the papers found on board the Carmelo, was apprized that an unſucceſsful attempt had been made againſt Carthagena; and finding there was no probability of facilitating his plan againſt Panama, as he was incapable of attacking the place himſelf, with ſuch an inconſiderable force, he dropt all thoughts of ſuch an undertaking. CHAP. II. 1741.

THE commodore being joined by the Glouceſter and one of her prizes, came to a determination, "To ſteer as ſoon as poſſible, to the "ſouthern parts of California, or to the adja-"cent coaſt of Mexico, to cruiſe for the Ma-"nila galleon; which he knew was at ſea, "bound to the port of Acapulco, and would "not arrive there till towards the middle of "January;" before which time, the commodore imagined he could be on a proper ſtation to intercept that valuable ſhip: and on imparting his project, the whole crew indulged themſelves in the moſt unlimitted hopes of the advantages they thought infallibly to receive. But, as there was a neceſſity of recruiting their water, he proceeded, for that purpoſe, to the iſland of Quibo, ſituated at the mouth of the bay of Panama, in the latitude of 7 deg. 20 min. north; where, after burning the Solidad and Tereſa in their paſſage, as they had given great delay, all the ſquadron, except the Glouceſter, arrived on the 6th of December, and in two days completed their wood and water. On the 9th they put to ſea, and kept hovering round the iſland, in hopes of ſeeing the Glouceſter; the next day they

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they took a ſmall bark from Panama, which they afterwards ſcuttled and ſunk, and on the 12th were joined by the Glouceſter, who had ſprung her fore-top maſt, which had diſabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from getting up ſooner with the ſquadron. The whole ſquadron now ſtood to the weſtward, and the commodore delivered freſh inſtructions to the captains of the men of war and commanders of the prizes, directing them "To uſe all "poſſible diſpatch in getting to the northward "of the harbour of Acapulco; where they "were to endeavour to fall in with the land, "between the latitude of 18 and 19 deg. from "whence they were to beat up the coaſt, at "eight or ten leagues diſtance from the ſhore, "till they came abreaſt of cape Corientes, in "the latitude of 20 deg. 20 min. and to cruiſe "on that ſtation till the 14th of February; "when they were to depart for the middle "iſland of the Tres Marias, in the latitude of "21 deg. 25 min. bearing from cape Corientes "N. W. by N. 25 leagues diſtant; and if, at "this iſland, they did not meet the commodore, "after recruiting their wood and water, they "were then immediately to proceed for the "iſland of Macao, on the coaſt of China." Theſe orders being diſtributed to the reſpective ſhips, they had little doubt of arriving ſoon on their intended ſtation; but by the unfavourable irregularity of the wind, they were protracted from obtaining ſo deſirable an end till the 28th of January, when they found themſelves near the harbour of Acapulco, in the latitude of 17 deg. 56 min.

BEING now in the track of the Manila galleon, their arrival was too late to yield them any pro-

probability of meeting with this veſſel, which they were taught to conſider as the moſt opulent capture that was to be made on any part of the ocean: this excited great uneaſineſs, as they were but too apprehenſive of their diſappointment, neither were their hopes diſſipated nor their fears abated, till the 19th of February; when, on the return of the Centurion's barge which had been diſpatched to diſcover the harbour of Acapulco, the commodore, from the information he received by ſome negroes the barge had ſurprized in a canoe near the harbour, was ſatisfied that the galleon had made her arrival, at Acapulco, on the 9th of January, which was about twenty days before the ſquadron fell in with the coaſt: yet, from them, he was able to collect other circumſtances ſufficient to revive his men from their dull deſpondency, to a more ſanguine and joyful expectation than they had hitherto retained: this was, that the galleon had delivered her cargoe, and was taking in water and proviſions in order to return; and that the Vice Roy of Mexico had, by proclamation, fixed her departure from Acapulco to the 3d of March. This news was moſt chearfully received by the whole ſquadron; ſince it was much more eligible to ſeize her in her return, than it would have been before her arrival; as the ſpeices for which ſhe had ſold her cargoe would be on board, and was of much more eſtimation than the actual cargoe; and, as they were certain ſhe would fall into their hands, all the crews were animated with the higheſt ſpirits and fluctuation of joy, on ſo proſperous an event; which afterwards happily anſwered their wiſhes.

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DURING

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DURING the time the British commodore had been encountering all the rigours and severities of the boisterous winds and tempestuous seas, in this remote part of the world, from the island of St Catherine's round Cape Horn, through the South Seas to the west of Acapulco; the Spanish squadron, in pursuing him, underwent still a more distressed and unfortunate fate: for arriving at the river of Plate in South America, on the 5th of January 1740, and anchoring in the bay of Maldonado at the mouth of that river, their admiral, Pizarro, sent immediately to Buenos Ayres for a supply of provisions. While they lay here, expecting this supply, they received advice, by the treachery of the Portuguese governor of St Catherine's, of the British commodore being arrived at that island on the 21st of December, and of his preparing to put to sea again with the utmost expedition. Pizarro, notwithstanding his superior force, had his reason, perhaps even orders, for avoiding the British squadron any where short of the South Seas: however he precipitately put to sea on the 22d of January, without his expected supply of provisions, in hopes of getting round Cape Horn before the British commodore, leaving the Patache behind him, as unfit for so difficult a service. But, notwithstanding his vigilant haste, the British squadron had got the start of him by four days from St Catherine's; though, in some part of their passage to Cape Horn, the two squadrons were so near together, that the Pearl, one of the British ships, approached very near to the Asia, in which was the Spanish admiral. The Spanish squadron, having run the length of Cape Horn, towards the latter end of February, stood to the westward, in order to double it;

it; but on the 28th at night, while with this view they were turning to windward, the Guipuſcoa, Hermiona, and Eſperanza, were ſeparated from the admiral; and on the 7th of March, being the ſame day the Britiſh ſquadron had paſſed Streights le Maire, the whole ſquadron was drove to the eaſtward, and diſperſed by a moſt furious ſtorm at N. W. They were afterwards, by their long detention in ſuch a turbulent ſea, reduced to the moſt infinite diſtreſs, by fatigue, and the devaſtation of famine; which occaſioned a moſt ſhocking mortality. On their departure from Spain they were furniſhed with only four months proviſions at ſhort allowance; ſo that when, by the ſtorms they encountered with off Cape Horn, their continuance at ſea was prolonged a month beyond their expectation, it is inconceivable what difficulties they ſuffered, and the dreadful havock that ravaged amongſt them, daily ſweeping off numbers of their ableſt and moſt hardy men: their calamity was even ſo great, that rats, when they could be caught, were ſold for four dollars a piece. This terrible ſituation produced a conſpiracy among the marines, on board the Aſia, who propoſed to maſſacre the officers and crew; prompted to this bloody reſolution, merely through the motive of relieving their famiſhing bodies, by appropriating the whole ſhip's proviſions to themſelves: but the conſpirators were diſcovered, and prevented in their fatal purpoſe. This ſeparated ſquadron, after ſuſtaining a variety of misfortunes, and after ſeveral ineffectual attempts to get round Cape Horn, were obliged to bear away for the river of Plate; where Pizarro, in the Aſia, arrived at Monte Vedio about the middle of May, after the loſs of half her crew;

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the St Eſtevan was alſo enfeebled by the diminution of 175 men, when ſhe anchored in the bay of Barragan; the Eſperanza, a fifty gun ſhip, was ſtill more unfortunate, for out of 450, only 58 were left alive: while the Guipuſcoa was driven aſhore, and ſunk on the coaſt of Brazil, having, out of 700, loſt above 300 of her men; the Hermiona foundered at ſea, and her whole crew, conſiſting of 500 men, were every one drowned; and the regiment of foot was reduced to ſixty men; ſo that their whole loſs, in this fatal attempt, was upwards of 2,000 men. The Aſia, Eſperanza, and St Eſtevan, after their arrival, were in great want of maſts, yards, rigging, and all kind of naval ſtores; and having no ſupply at Buenos Ayres, nor in any of their neighbouring ſettlements, Pizarro obtained a remittance of 100,000 dollars from the Vice Roy of Peru, and a conſiderable quantity of pitch, tar, and cordage, from the Portugueſe at Rio Janeiro; but could procure neither maſts nor yards. The Spaniſh admiral was ſtill very intent of putting to ſea in purſuit of the Britiſh ſquadron, which he did not queſtion had been as ſeverely handled as his own; and to facilitate his deſign, by removing the maſts of the Eſperanza into the Aſia, and making uſe of what ſpare maſts and yards they had on board, they made a ſhift to refit the Aſia, and St Eſtevan: and in the October following they were preparing to put to ſea, with theſe two ſhips, to attempt the paſſage round Cape Horn a ſecond time; but the St Eſtevan, in coming down the river Plate, ran on a ſhoal, and being diſabled, the admiral proceeded to ſea in the Aſia without her. Having the ſummer before him, and favourable winds, he expected a fortunate and ſpeedy

ſpeedy paſſage; but being off Cape Horn, and going right before the wind in very moderate weather, though in a ſwelling ſea, by ſome miſconduct of the officer of the watch, the ſhip rolled away her maſts, and was a ſecond time conſtrained to return, in great diſtreſs, to the river of Plate. Thus was this well appointed ſquadron, compoſed of the flower of the Spaniſh navy, defeated by the inclemency of the winds and ſeas; while the ſhips they were purſuing, rode triumphant in the ſouthern ocean, enriched with the plunder of the Spaniſh provinces, and waiting for that immenſe treaſure they afterwards obtained in the Manila galleon, enjoying an ample compenſation for their toil and bravery.

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CHAPTER III.

Naval tranſactions in EUROPE, in 1741.

TO ſhew the world the potency of the naval ſtrength of Britain, the Britiſh miniſtry concerted a ſecond ſecret expedition, under the command of Sir John Norris: a great armament was appointed to aſſemble for this purpoſe, and to facilitate the deſign, on the 2d of June, a vigorous preſs was made on the river Thames, which, in thirty-ſix hours, by the number taken

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and enrolled in the navy books, was 2,370 men; and the preſs was continued with the ſame vigilance, the ſooner to mann the ſquadron deſigned for this expedition.

On the 21ſt of July, Sir John Norris hoiſted his flag on board the Victory, and on the 27th ſailed from St Helen's with a grand fleet, conſiſting of ſixteen ſhips of the line; the Victory, Royal Sovereign, and Royal George, of 100 guns each; St George, in which was Admiral Cavendiſh, and Duke of 90; Cambridge of 80; Buckingham, Bedford, Naſſau, Lenox, Eſſex, and Elizabeth, of 70; Argyle, Aſſiſtance, and Ruby, of 50; Goſport of 44 guns; and the Blaze and Lightning fire-ſhips; having on board upwards of 8,000 ſailors. With this formidable armament the admiral ſailed to the coaſt of Spain; and great were the expectations of the Britiſh nation, on an enterprize commenced in ſo magnificent a manner.

On the 5th of Auguſt the admiral, with the whole fleet, entered the bay of Biſcay; and ordered Capt. Harriſon, with the Argyle, to look into Ferrol, Corunna, and Redondella, which he performed in four days, taking a Spaniſh brigantine, and putting four others on ſhore. The captain being informed by the maſter of a Portugueſe veſſel, that a ſloop from New England had been carried into Camirina by a Spaniſh privateer, on the 17th he got off this harbour and ſent his boats in; on ſight of them the ſloop run on ſhore; but, after a ſharp diſpute, the Engliſh boarded and burnt her. The 18th, Capt. Harriſon being informed by the maſter of another Portugueſe veſſel, that the Spaniards had brought into Redondella a very rich ſhip with bale goods from London, and three or four

four other prizes; he immediately ſent for the Gibraltar and Grampus, and came to a reſolution, at all events, to make for this place, which is a ſmall town and port of Gallicia, in the gulph of Vigo. At day-light, the next morning, he took a Spaniſh bark of about forty ton, and another about thirty, and ſetting the largeſt on fire, this diſcovered the Engliſh to the whole country, and prevented their project of running up with French colours. About ten came in a freſh ſea breeze; the captain weighed, and with Engliſh colours proceeded up the river, having given orders to take no notice of Vigo, but puſh on: accordingly, at four in the afternoon, they got into the harbour or baſon of Redondello, anchored within piſtol ſhot of the ſhips, and took them all, being four, by twelve o'clock that night: the Engliſh got all their prizes off under their ſterns, ſailed out of the harbour, and joined the admiral. This plainly ſhews that the Spaniards had made little preparations to defend themſelves; and had the Engliſh admiral been as active with the whole fleet, what noble actions might have been atchieved? The Spaniards were far from being invulnerable in Old Spain, nor had they made the leaſt preparations to give the Engliſh any reception: there are very few harbours in Spain, if any, which the Engliſh might not have entered, and burnt every ſhip in the port; and with regard to their extenſive ſea coaſts, except juſt in the neighbourhood of their fortified towns or camps, the Britiſh ſailors might have landed wherever they pleaſed, and plundered and laid waſte the country for ſeveral miles together, before the Spaniards could have brought a ſuperior force to oppoſe them. Though the Britiſh nation could not have got any immediate

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diate advantage by ſuch attempts, yet by harraſſing their country, the Spaniards would have been tired of the war; they would have diſregarded the influence of France, and while the Britiſh fleet in America ſwept the Spaniſh trade before them, if they had ſuffered equally in Europe, ſo much as to have compenſated the loſs and expences of the Britiſh nation, this would have induced the haughty Spaniard to have ſtopped the violence of war, by a ſpeedy and honourable concluſion, which would have been attended with the happieſt conſequences to the Britiſh nation, and ought to have been the ſole and principal aim of this expedition. For if, in Queen Elizabeth's time, Admiral Drake, though he had no land forces on board, landed at ſeveral places on the coaſt of Spain, and ravaged the whole country: if he could enter the harbour of Cadiz and the river of Liſbon, burning a great many Spaniſh Ships, and this at a time when the Spaniards were more powerful than in the preſent age: if, the next year, 7,000 Engliſh under the Earl of Eſſex, actually took the town of Cadiz, burning, ſinking, or taking, every ſhip in the harbour: if in the reign of Queen Anne, the Engliſh forces attacked the ſame place, and though, through miſconduct, they failed of ſucceſs againſt the city and harbour of Cadiz itſelf, yet they did the Spaniards great damage, and got a wealthy plunder at port St Mary's: and if the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke, with the ſame fleet, in its return, on the 12th of October, 1702, made the famous and ſucceſsful attack upon Vigo, where they took and deſtroyed twenty French men of war and thirteen Spaniſh galleons! What might not the Britiſh nation, who above all others are more fond to hear of

ſieges

sieges and battles in time of war, when so great a navy lay hovering over the Spanish coast, what might they, and what ought they not to have expected from it? For as the Spanish trade was inconsiderable, and that little they had, being prevented by the station of Admiral Haddock, they could not be distressed much at sea by the English: it was therefore the business of the British commanders, to attack them at land in Europe as well as America; with this difference, that in Europe they ought to have attacked without any design to hold, and whereas in America they ought to have attacked no where, but with an intention to retain their conquests, at least during the continuance of the war. There was a fair and open opportunity to revive the antient glory of the British flag, to convey the name of Norris to latest posterity, with a lustre equal to the reputation of Drake or Raleigh; yes, this was a time, when the pride of Spain might have been as severely chastised, as in the days of the illustrious Queen Elizabeth: but instead of any exploits worthy the character of the English admiral, and such a well appointed fleet, after intimidating the poor Spaniards, by cruizing on their coast for some time, the admiral dispatched the Nassau and Lenox to join Admiral Haddock; and, leaving part of his squadron on a cruize, on the 22d of August returned to Spithead, with the Victory, St George, Royal Sovereign, Duke, Cambridge, Bedford, Elizabeth, Buckingham, and the Scipio and Blast fireships, to the general dissatisfaction of the British nation.

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THOUGH the fleet under Sir John Norris, had uselessly and ignominiously floated in the castles of indolence, along the coasts of Spain, carrying

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ing the Britiſh lion in manacles, even in the very ſight of his prey: yet the valour and activity of the Britiſh ſeamen was not every where extinct: this was no where more apparent, than in the actions of the gallant Capt. Ambroſe, who commanded the Rupert man of war of 60 guns, then on a cruiſing ſtation in the bay of Biſcay: he had taken the St Antonio de Padua, a privateer belonging to St Sebaſtians, of 16 guns and 150 men; as alſo another privateer, called the Biſcaya, mounting ten carriage and two ſwivel guns, with 119 rugged, able-bodied, deſperate men on board; who had taken twenty-three Engliſh prizes ſince the commencement of the war, but now, after a ſmart engagement, bowed to the Britiſh flag, which has always diſappointed the barbarity of ruffians, like theſe, remorſeleſs in their proſperity, and as impenetrably uncompaſſionate to the miſeries of the poor ſufferers in their power, as, on their own Biſcayan mountains, are the ſavage wolves, when pinched with hunger, to the unhappy traveller periſhing beneath their ferocity. Capt. Ambroſe, having brought his two prizes into Plymouth, ſailed again on another cruize; and on the 18th of September, as he was cruizing in the bay of Biſcay, off cape Machiacaca, in the evening, he ſaw a ſail from the maſt head, to windward, which he chaſed all that night and the next day, and after chaſing her about ſeventy-three leagues, coming up with her about eleven at night, took her after ſome reſiſtance, and brought her into Plymouth. This ſhip proved to be the Duke de Vendome, the largeſt privateer belonging to St Sebaſtians, of the dimenſions of the Engliſh twenty gun frigates, mounting twenty-ſix carriage guns, and was manned with 202 ſtout

ſtout ſeamen, commanded by Don Martin de Areneder, a Frenchman, as was alſo the crew moſtly of foreign nations, and among them nineteen Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, who were taken out of the Spaniſh priſon, and forced by the intendant, to proceed on the cruize. CHAP. III. 1741.

As St Sebaſtian was again overſtocked with Britiſh prizes, taken in great numbers by the Spaniſh privateers; Capt. Ambroſe immediately proceeded to cruize on his ſtation in the bay of Biſcay. On the 7th of November he ſaw two ſail to the windward, and giving them chace, at the ſame time obſerved a ſail to chace him, which happened to be a Spaniſh privateer of twenty-four carriage and twenty ſwivel guns, and 187 men, commanded by Don Franciſco de L'Arrea, which had been nine days out of St Sebaſtian on a ſucceſsleſs cruize. Capt. Ambroſe diſregarding her, continued his firſt chace; and on coming up with them, did not fire, as uſual, to bring them too, to prevent giving any ſuſpicion of what he was to the ſhip that chaced him; but ſent his boat on board, and finding they were dutchmen, apprized them of his intention to deceive the privateer. Accordingly the captain reefed his ſails and trimmed his ſhip, and the Spaniard, ſuſpecting her a conſort of the dutchmen, crouded ſail, and by duſk was within two leagues; when Capt. Ambroſe ſhortened ſail to wait for her, hoping ſhe would run him on board, before ſhe perceived her miſtake. When the privateer got within a mile, ſhe diſcovered the force of the Rupert, and hauled upon a wind: upon which Capt. Ambroſe followed her, with all the ſail he could make. On the 8th, at two o' clock in the morning, the Rupert got within gun ſhot of the privateer;

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but the moon just then going down, and it coming on dark, she clapt upon a wind, and the man of war lost sight of her. At day-break Capt. Ambrose saw her, three leagues on his bow, chasing an English merchant ship; but, seeing the Rupert, the privateer crowded away again, the wind blowing hard; Capt. Ambrose followed her close, when the wind failing, darkness coming on, and the privateer using oars, she escaped a second time. The 9th Capt. Ambrose discovering the privateer again about three leagues to windward, pursued her all day, and began to engage her at half an hour past midnight: the action lasted till two in the morning, when the Rupert boarding her, she struck, and called for quarter. The privateer had twelve men killed in the engagement, two their arms and legs shot away, and the captain and many more of her men dangerously wounded; the Rupert lost but one man, who tumbled overboard in boarding the privateer. The Spaniards were completely fitted out with a great quantity of small arms, cutlasses, pole-axes, and many more instruments of war, but had met with no prize in that cruize.

As a recompence for the conduct and vigilance of Capt. Ambrose, in suppressing the Spanish privateers, the merchants of London, in grateful remembrance of such signal and singular services, presented him with a large silver cup, exquisitely wrought, with his arms curiously chased on one side, and on the other a representation of the Rupert chasing a Spanish privateer. And the merchants of Bristol also, to testify their esteem for the captain, presented him with a piece of plate of 100*l.* value, on the same account.

On

ON the 12th of October Sir John Norris sailed again in the Victory from St Helens, on a third expedition; attended by the Royal George, Royal Sovereign, Barfleur, Neptune, Sandwich, Naſſau, Buckingham, Newcaſtle, and Portmahon. The fleet proceeded for the Spaniſh coaſt, where their arrival alarmed the inhabitants; but from the former inactivity of this admiral, with a ſuperior fleet, and at a more ſeaſonable time of the year, the Spaniards were not much terrified at the approach of the Britiſh ſquadron eſpecially as, ſince their laſt viſit, they had put themſelves into a better poſture of defence, by repairing their fortifications, and having their militia in readineſs poſted along the maritime part of the country. Nor indeed had they any reaſon to be terrified; for the admiral paraded up and down the Spaniſh coaſt, as if he had been ſent only to amuſe the Spaniards with the noble appearance of a Britiſh fleet, as he had formerly done, when he waited to conduct Don Carlos, and the 6,000 Spaniards, into his Italian dominions; and, without attempting any thing that might contribute to his own merit or the honour and ſervice of his king and country, to remove the Spaniards from all apprehenſion of danger, he returned with the ſquadron for England, and arrived at Spithead on the 6th of November. CHAP. III. 1741.

THESE ſeveral expeditions, carried on with ſuch conſiderable force, and conducted by an admiral who had acquired a very great reputation in his naval life, took up the whole ſpeculation of the public, and terminated to the univerſal diſlike of the people. As, certainly, nothing is attended with a greater difficulty, than, thoroughly and circumſtantially, to arrive at a fair

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and undiſguiſed knowledge of truth; yet ſtate truths, which are the very ſoul of hiſtory, are infinitely more difficult to come at than all others. Thoſe who adviſed a meaſure, and thoſe who put it in execution, are perhaps the only perſons who can oblige the nation with a preciſe and genuine relation of ſuch tranſactions; but generally, both are ſo deeply intereſted in the repreſentation, that little beyond the faint glimmering of truth can be expected from them: therefore, for what theſe armaments were intended, and what was the real occaſion of their inactivity, unleſs illuſtrated with the uſual explanation of the pacific ſyſtem of Sir Robert Walpole, to amuſe the nation with a warlike but idle appearance, and at the ſame time avoiding giving umbrage to, and fearing the reſentment of France; was then, is yet, and perhaps for many years will be, abſorped into the vortex of other political arcanums.

DURING all this ſummer, Admiral Haddock lay cruizing on his ſtation in the Mediterranean, to protect the Britiſh trade, and to prevent the Spaniards from ſending any reinforcements or ſupplies to their dominions in America: this the admiral very punctually executed; he had all along, from the commencement of the war, given the greateſt ſecurity that was poſſible to be done, to the trade of the Britiſh ſubjects: nor can the eſcape of the Cadiz and Ferrol ſquadrons, be imputed to any negligence in him; for it was entirely accidental, as the Spaniards ſeized the opportunity when the admiral, in obedience to his orders, had quitted his ſtation, to obſtruct any embarkation from Majorca againſt the iſland of Minorca. This ſituation of Admiral Haddock to protect the Britiſh trade, was very

very interesting to the merchants, and consistent only with their service; but the popularity of the British nation wanted the admiral to attempt some enterprizing stroke on the Spaniards: and it has been reported by a nobleman of great knowledge and dignity, not only that the admiral had no orders to make any attempt against the Spaniards at land, but that he had express orders to the contrary: if so, this manifests the reason why Sir John Norris rolled indolently over those seas, where he had, in the earlier part of life, loudly bellowed out the eruption of the British thunder, like a worthy commander; and if it was not so, how otherwise can we account for the surprizing inactivity of Admiral Haddock? Certainly the admiral might have done the Spaniards great damage, only with his seamen and marines, by continually making descents on the open country, by plundering many unfortified places, and by burning and destroying of the Spanish ships, in many of their harbours: it is highly probable this might have been done, and why it was not, requires a clue to unravel this political labyrinth: for from the noble character Admiral Haddock had gloriously acquired, and honourably supported, not the least imputation of the want of courage, conduct, or a due attention to the public welfare, can be alledged against him; it cannot be supposed such an officer, who had manifestly proved his love of action, would have voluntarily continued in a state of indolence: no, let us do justice to the memory of so brave a man, from the whole tenor of his former behaviour, we must, we cannot but suppose, that he would willingly have acted for the honour and advantage of his country, to the utmost of his ability, and that for this purpose he would

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would have ventured his life with pleaſure. He was a bold, prudent, and vigilant commander; a ſtate of inaction was his greateſt mortification, and the continuance of it, by his reſtraining inſtructions, dejected that glorious Britiſh ſpirit, which had bid defiance to all the hoſt of Spain. It is highly becoming the truth and dignity of hiſtory, to ſnatch from the ſtream of oblivion, the fame and merit of every worthy and illuſtrious man; to vindicate his character from the miſrepreſentation of prejudice and calumny; and to paint him to poſterity, with an attitude, ſuitable to his deſert and value. Thus, faithfully related, ſhall the actions of one brave man, enkindle emulation in the ſouls of future heroes: this formed a Drake and a Raleigh; this gave a Haddock to England; this now yields Britain a Vernon; and ſuch veracious repreſentations, ſhall give to the royal navy, a long, a noble, and illuſtrious train of commanders.

NOTHING further remarkable happened in the ſquadron under Admiral Haddock, than their blocking up the Spaniſh fleet in the port of Cadiz, to prevent their junction with the Toulon ſquadron, and the tranſports at Barcelona, intended to convey a body of forces to diſtreſs the Queen of Hungary in Italy; till the cloſe of July; when two Engliſh men of war, accidentally, in the evening, fell in with three French men of war off Cadiz, whom they took to be regiſter ſhips, with treaſure from the Weſt Indies, and accordingly hailed them; but receiving no anſwer till the third time of calling, and then a diſſatisfactory one, Capt. Barnet, commander of the Dragon, fired a ſhot a-head; which the Chevalier Caylus, the French commodore, anſwered with a broadſide; on which a

ſharp

sharp engagement ensued, that lasted two hours; when the French, after losing one of their captains, a young marquiss, and several of their men killed, and seventy wounded, thought fit to cease firing: and Chevalier Caylus, after mutual apologies with Capt. Barnet, was obliged to put into Malaga to refit, being severely galled by the English, who had also their masts and rigging greatly damaged, four men killed, and fourteen wounded. CHAP. III. 1741.

THE British squadron consisted of thirteen men of war, besides cruizers; with which the admiral continued all the month of October on his station, between Cape St Mary's and Cadiz: his appearance there, intimidated the squadron in that port from sailing; but in the mean time, the Spaniards effected their embarkation from Barcelona, and sent 15,000 men into Italy. The admiral, resolving to behave in the most serviceable manner for his country, continued his cruize rather longer than the season and hurricanes, so frequent in those seas, would permit him; but his vigilance was ineffectual, for he was in November obliged to return to Gibraltar and refit: he had but just entered the bay, when the Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Navarro, sailed from Cadiz, on the 24th of November, and passed through the Streights, favoured by the darkness of the night; yet they did not pass unobserved by the English; for in the morning of the 25th, a brisk east wind coming on, drove them so far back that they continued almost two days in sight of Gibraltar, when they sailed and joined the Toulon squadron, commanded by Monsieur de Court, off the streights of Malaga. Admiral Haddock, who was then repairing his squadron, made the best shift he could to pursue them, sailing out of the bay on the 2d of December, and in a few days

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days came up with the combined fleet in a line of battle. But when he was bearing down on the Spaniards, and ready to engage, the French admiral, with his ſquadron, interpoſed with a flag of truce, and ſent a meſſage to inform the Britiſh admiral, "That as the Spaniards and "French were engaged in one joint expedition, "he muſt obey his orders, and could not avoid "taking them into his protection." A council of war being called on this extraordinary affair, either from the reſtriction the admiral lay under by his orders, or from the ſuperiority of the combined fleet, being above thirty ſail, and the Engliſh only thirteen, it was reſolved "To "proceed to Port Mahon, and wait for a rein-"forcement." But before the admiral received any, the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons, in conjunction, ſailed to Barcelona; and from thence they ſet ſail again on the 24th of December, with a ſecond embarkation for Italy.

As the Spaniards had thus ſucceeded in their principal ſcheme of tranſporting an army to Italy, and in joining the French ſquadron, it occaſioned great ſpeculation throughout the whole Britiſh nation: they knew the vivacity of the admiral, and relied on his conduct; nor could they tell what reaſon to aſcribe for it, unleſs the Hanoverian treaty of neutrality; wherein they ſuſpected, it was ſtipulated, that this fleet in the Mediterranean, ſhould continue as inactive as the troops by land, and that the Engliſh admiral ſhould ſuffer the Spaniards quietly to tranſport a formidable body of forces to Italy, to overrun, ravage, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the dominions the Queen of Hungary had in thoſe parts.

CAPT.

CAPT. THOMPSON, in the Succeſs man of war of twenty guns, in his cruize on the Madeira ſtation, took a French ſhip of 300 ton, from the Havanna, laden with ſugar, cochineal, and cocoa, having alſo on board 180,000 dollars, ſixty bars of gold and ſilver, and other valuable treaſure: the prize was carried to Boſton in New England, and appeared of ſuch eſtimation, that it was reported, the ſhare of the captain would be 60,000 *l.* and that the common ſailors would have at leaſt 500 *l.* a-piece. CHAP. III. 1741.

CAPT. HERVEY, commander of the Superbe man of war, arrived from the Weſt Indies the 25th of December at Kinſale, and brought in with him a Spaniſh ſhip called the Conſtante, of 400 ton, twenty-four guns, and ſixty-four men, which he took in his paſſage, in the latitude of 33 deg. 20 m. longitude 65 deg. The captain was Don Francis Havre Caſtilio, who came from the Caraccas bound for the Canaries, laden with cocoa and treaſure to the amount of 200,000 *l.*

THE privateering part of the war, was maintained with great ſpirit by the Engliſh and Spaniards, both in Europe and America: the Engliſh reaped the greateſt advantage in America, and the Spaniards in Europe, where, in the ſingle port of St Sebaſtian, they had collected above a hundred prizes. The whole captures of the Britiſh ſhips, ſeized, taken, or deſtroyed by the Spaniards, ſince the commencement of the war to the end of the preſent year, were 372; and ſuppoſing, upon no immoderate calculation, every ſhip and cargo, one with another, to be worth 3,500 *l.* the loſs would amount to 1,202,000 *l.* to which may be added 50,000 *l.* more, as the value of the houſes, goods, and ef-

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fects, of the Britiſh merchants ſeized in Spain, contrary to the faith of treaties, at the breaking out of the war; the whole loſs in ſhips, goods, and effects, will then appear to be 1,252,000*l.* To ballance this loſs, the Spaniſh ſhips, taken by the Engliſh to the ſame time, were 390; which, valued at 3000*l.* each, make 1,170,000*l.* ſo that the ballance of profit was, in favour of the Spaniards, 820,000*l.* on account of ſhips, goods, and effects; but, as the loſs they ſuffered at Porto Bello, Chagre, and Carthagena, may be computed at 877,000*l.* by this deduction the Spaniards ſuſtained a loſs, in the whole war, of 57,000*l.* But the Britiſh nation was ſtill the greater ſufferer, by the additional loſs of the vaſt numbers of ſeamen, taken and kept priſoners by the Spaniards; which was a moſt grievous misfortune, conſidering the ſcarcity of that ineſtimable part of the conſtitution, and the oppreſſive methods lately enforced for manning the royal navy: for allowing but twelve ſeamen to every merchant ſhip taken, the number of Britiſh ſeamen in the hands of the Spaniards, amounted to above 4,000; omitting the calculation of thoſe that had, either with the peril of their lives eſcaped from the dungeons of Spain, or ſuch crews as the Spaniſh privateers had ſometimes ſet on ſhore, when they had more priſoners than they could ſafely venture to detain; and this loſs was the more ſenſibly felt, as the greateſt part of theſe unfortunate men, lay either rotting and ſtarving to death in the loathſome confinement of Spaniſh goals, or compelled, through mere want and torture, to enliſt againſt their inclinations, hearts, and conſcience, in that ſervice; whereby, to preſerve their lives, they were obliged to aſſociate themſelves to act againſt their fellow

fellow ſubjects, and the intereſt of that country which is ever dear to, and inſeparably folded round the heart of every Engliſhman: while the more truly Britiſh, honeſt, and brave ſeamen, touched with a nobler innate love and attachment to their maternal land, ſtill preſerved their Engliſh virtue, with an inflexible reſolution to withſtand the greateſt temptation offered on one hand by the artifices of Spain, and the terrible ſufferings they expoſed them to on the other; yet theſe highly valuable men, if they were not finally deprived of their honeſty, fidelity, and allegiance; if they ſtill nobly perſevered in thoſe generous ſentiments of affection for their king and country, and deſpiſing every hardſhip, reſiſting every allurement, to encreaſe the number of thoſe privateers that were employed to deſtroy the trade of their country; as no cartel was ſettled for exchange of priſoners, and expecting no other redemption from the worſt of impriſonment, if this was any longer neglected, they muſt inevitably exhauſt their gallant ſpirits; and, immured from the healthful breath and chearful light of heaven, lie feebly expiring amid the filth, vermin, and want, of Spaniſh dungeons, ſickneſs, and hunger.

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THOUGH the Spaniſh priſoners, in the Britiſh dominions, were no ways inferior in number to the Engliſh priſoners in Spain, yet they were greatly inequivalent in worth: the Britiſh merchants were too immediately effected by ſuch a diſparity; and, as the Spaniſh privateers were likely to increaſe it, the merchants were univerſally concerned, that their trade ſhould be ſo ſurprizingly interrupted, from ſuch ſhoals of Spaniſh veſſels, in or near the Britiſh coaſt and ſoundings, on the very ſtations where the Britiſh

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men of war ſhould be to protect it: their alarm was the greater, as the Spaniards from their late weakneſs at ſea, by ſuch a number of valuable prizes, were encouraged and enabled to augment the force of their privateers, and render the Britiſh navigation every day more and more precarious; to prevent which, as no effectual ſecurity was obtained from the admiralty, the merchants determined to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of parliament.

THE

THIRD PART,

IN TWO DIVISIONS.

FIRST DIVISION.

FROM THE

Election of the DUKE of BAVARIA

to the IMPERIAL Throne,

TO THE

End of the CAMPAIGN in M DCC XLII.

SECOND DIVISION.

Naval War in EUROPE and AMERICA,

In M DCC XLII.

First DIVISION.

CHAPTER I.

The Revolution in the British Miniſtry.

AS Great Britain is the principal machine, on which depends the equilibrium of the ballance of Europe; and by the regulation of its motion, in a great meaſure, influences the other engines; it will be neceſſary to obſerve, how far the occult ſprings of this machine has hitherto affected the general ſyſtem, and how much retarded the velocity, or accelerated the ſlowneſs of the ſcale.

SOON after the concluſion of the Hanoverian treaty of neutrality, his Britannic majeſty left his German dominions, and embarking at Helvoetſluys on the 18th of October, landed the next day at Aldborough in Suffolk, and on the day following

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following arrived at St James's; on which occasion, he soon afterwards received the congratulations of the nobility, and the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London.

After the British troops had quitted Carthagena, the ministry resolved to send another body of forces to augment the army in America: accordingly four regiments of marines were raised, and set sail from Cork in Ireland, on the 8th of November, in forty transports, convoyed by four men of war and four bomb-ketches, to reinforce the army in Cuba; but, in the same manner as the former, these forces were detained too long, and set out greatly too late, for contributing to any material service in America.

Before the dissolution of the last parliament, the ministerial party had a great superiority in the house of commons; but on the new election, the general part of the nation, incensed by the pacific conduct of Sir Robert Walpole, the prime minister, were very strenuous in chusing members of another inclination; whereby the opposition, that had long existed to subvert the ministry, now effectually succeeded: for 181 new members were returned, who had no seat in the last parliament; of the voters against the convention 152 were re-chosen; of the voters for it, 169; and it soon afterwards appeared that, by their numbers among the new members, the opposition had a majority of seventeen, exclusive of double returns.

On the 1st of December the new parliament met at Westminster, and unanimously chose the Right Honourable Arthur Onslow, Esq; for their speaker; which important office he had discharged with great honour and reputation in the two last preceeding parliaments. On the 4th his majesty

jesty came to the house of peers; and, having signified his approbation of the speaker of the house of commons, opened the sessions with a speech, importing, "That it was a great satisfaction to "him to meet his parliament at a time, when, by "by means of the new elections, he might have "an opportunity of knowing the sense and disposition of his people in general from their "representatives, chosen during a season which "had been attended with great variety of incidents of the highest consequence and expectation, and during the course of the Spanish war; "a war, in itself just, and necessarily entered into "by the repeated advice of both houses of parliament, and particularly recommended to "him to be carried on in America; which had "been his principal care. His majesty remarked upon the impending danger that threatened Europe, and more immediately such parts "of the continent, as should resist the formidable powers which were confederated for the subversion, or reduction, of the house of Austria; "and that if other powers, who were under the "like engagements with his majesty, had answered the just expectations they had so solemnly given, the support of the common "cause had been attended with less difficulty. "He informed them, that he had, pursuant to "the advice of his parliament, ever since the "death of the late emperor, exerted himself in "the support of the house of Austria: that he "had endeavoured, by the most proper and "early applications, to induce other powers, "that were equally engaged with his majesty, "and united by common interest, to concert "such measures, as so important and critical a "conjuncture required; and where an accom-

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" modation seemed to be necessary, he laboured to reconcile those princes, whose union would have been the most effectual means to prevent the mischiefs that had happened, and the best security and interest for the safety of the whole. That, although his endeavours had not the desired effect, he could not but still hope, that a just sense of the common and approaching danger, would produce a more favourable turn in the councils of other nations. That, in this situation, it was incumbent upon the British nation, to put themselves in a condition to improve all opportunities, that should offer, for maintaining the liberties of Europe; and to assist and support their friends and allies, at such times, and in such manner, as the exigency and circumstances of affairs should require; and to defeat any attempts that should be made against him and his dominions, or against those whom the British nation were most nearly concerned for, and, in honour and interest, engaged to support and defend."

On this occasion the lords presented an address to his majesty, on the 5th of the same month, assuring him, " That they would vigorously and heartily concur in all just and necessary measures, for the defence and support of his majesty, the maintenance of the ballance and liberties of Europe, and the assistance of his majesty's allies." And on the 10th, his majesty received an address from the commons, whereby they promised, " To grant such effectual supplies as should enable his majesty, not only to be in a readiness to support his friends and allies, at such times and in such manner as the exigency and circumstances of affairs

" should

" ſhould require, but to oppoſe and defeat any at- CHAP.
" tempts that ſhould be made againſt his majeſty, I.
" his crown and kingdoms, or againſt thoſe who,
" being equally engaged with his majeſty by the
" faith of treaties, or united by common intereſt
" and common danger, ſhould be willing to con-
" cert ſuch meaſures, as ſhould be found neceſſary
" and expedient for maintaining the ballance of
" Europe."

ON the 20th of January, the merchants of Lon- 1742.
don preſented petitions to both houſes of parlia-
ment, ſetting forth, " That the Britiſh navigation
" and commerce had been continually expoſed,
" both in the Mediterranean and the Weſt Indies,
" to the growing inſolence of the Spaniſh privateers,
" from the commencement of the war; principally
" owing to the neglect of properly ſtationing his
" majeſty's ſhips." The petition delivered to the
houſe of commons, was ordered to be heard the
27th; and that preſented to the houſe of lords on
the 4th of February, by the petitioners or their
council. Mr Glover, the inimitable author of Le-
onidas, who opened the petition to the houſe of
commons, after having ſtated the facts, proved
the allegations by witneſſes, and ſummed up the
evidence, pathetically and eloquently expatiated
upon the hardſhips ſuſtained by the Britiſh mer-
chants, and the indifference, diſregard, and in-
ſolence ſhewn to them from the admiralty, upon
ſeveral applications; and this he imputed to an
expreſs deſign of promoting, in every ſhape, that
known, original, and favourite plan, of making
the merchants uneaſy with the war, in conſe-
quence of what had been told them, " That it
" was their own war, and they muſt take it for
" their pains." Concluding, that upon the pro-
tection of parliament, the Britiſh trade threw it-

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PETITIONS were also presented to the parliament about the same time, from the cities of London, Bristol, Exeter and Glasgow, and the towns of Liverpool, Lancaster, Biddeford, Southampton, and other places, upon the like occasion.

THE parliament paid a due regard to these petitions, and entered into vigorous resolutions for the better protection of the British trade and commerce for the future; accordingly a number of the smallest men of war were appointed to cruize in the channel, and about the coasts, to secure the merchant ships from the insults of the Spanish privateers.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, having upwards of twenty years presided in the British cabinet, had deeply ingratiated himself into the favour and affection of his royal master; and, from a common fatality, inseparably attendant on ministerial dignity, had been ever strongly opposed in his administration by the tory party, whom he had deserted; and from an inadvertent mistake, com-

committed by the Hanover treaty in 1725, which tended to the depreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, and the advancement of France, he alſo incurred the diſpleaſure of ſome of the principal leaders of the whig party; who, uniting with the tories, from that time made perpetual and vigorous efforts, to remove him from the confidence of his royal patron, and to revert the turn of the Britiſh politics into their natural channel, by ſupporting the houſe of Auſtria, and maintaining the ballance of Europe, againſt the power and policy of France; and at length carried it ſo far, that on the 14th of February, towards the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, Mr Sandys moved the houſe of commons to addreſs his majeſty, "That he would be pleaſed to "remove Sir Robert Walpole, knight of the gar"ter, and member of that houſe, from his pre"ſence and councils for ever." The motion was ſeconded by Lord Viſcount Limerick, and ſupported by Lord Viſcount Cornbury, Sir John Hynde Cotton, Sir John Barnard, Lord Viſcount Gage, Mr Alexander Hume Campbell, Mr Pulteney, Mr Lyttleton, Mr Gybbon, Mr Wortley, Mr Pitt, and Alderman Heathcote. The motion was oppoſed by Lord Viſcount Tyrconnell, Mr Bromley, Colonel Bladen, Mr Stephen Fox, Mr Howe, and Mr Pelham. The debate continued, with abundance of ſpirit, from noon till midnight; when, the queſtion being put, it was rejected by a majority of eighty-four, the number of members preſent, being 296. The ſame day a ſimilar motion was made in the houſe of lords, introduced by Lord Carteret, and ſupported by the Dukes of Bedford and Argyle; the Earls of Weſtmoreland, Berkſhire, Carliſle, Abingdon and Halifax; and the Lords Haverſham

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ſham and Bathurſt: this was oppoſed by the Lord Chancellor; the Dukes of Newcaſtle and Devonſhire; the Earls of Findlater and Iſlay; the Biſhop of Saliſbury, Lord Hervey, and Lord Raymond; who kept up a warm debate from two o'clock in the afternoon till eleven at night; but, on the queſtion, the motion was rejected by a majority of forty-nine, there being 143 lords preſent on this grand debate, beſides the Prince of Wales, who had engaged in the oppoſition againſt the adminiſtration, the Earls of Coventry, Graham, Wilmington and Darnley; and the Lords Brooke and Foley, who ſtood neuter and gave no vote.

THOUGH Sir Robert Walpole had thus received the pleaſure of diſappointing his antagoniſts, his ſecurity was but of a tranſitory exiſtence; for the parliament being diſſolved, the re-election entirely defeated his power, and deſtroyed his authority, cauſing a great revolution in the adminiſtration: and as it was productive of another ſyſtem of polity, it will be very neceſſary to trace the meaſures by which it was occaſioned and completed.

BY the treaty of Hanover, concluded in the year 1725, Sir Robert Walpole permitted a diminution of the ſtrength and power of the houſe of Auſtria, inſtead of endeavouring to ſupport the only power that could maintain the ballance of Europe; independant of which, the Britiſh nation cannot long ſubſiſt, without becoming a province to France. This incurred a vigorous and numerous oppoſition in the Britiſh ſenate, againſt the meaſures of an adminiſtration, ſo pacifically deſtructive of the honour and intereſt of the kingdom, and ſo conſpicuouſly tending to promote the abolition of the friendſhip and fidelity

lity of Britain, with her deareſt, moſt natural, and cordial allies. CHAP. I.

DURING the whole time of this long adminiſtration, ſince the commencement of the oppoſition in the year 1725, incendiary pamphlets againſt this miniſter, were the numerous product of every week; all aiming to defame his reputation, expoſe his conduct, and vilify his integrity. Never was a man, whoſe actions, conduct, and character, have been more earneſtly and openly canvaſſed and attacked; and ſeldom can hiſtory furniſh any example, where ſuch a potent oppoſition was ſo long and ſo formidably proſecuted and reſiſted. 1742.

THE ſlow and lingering manner, in which the war againſt Spain was conducted, had been ſtrongly repreſented to the nation, by the political writers; this irritated the whole people, who conſidering how long the Queen of Hungary had been left without aſſiſtance, when ſurrounded by her enemies; and perceiving how tardily ſhe procured relief, made the loudeſt exclamations againſt the conduct of the miniſtry: they were taught to believe, that the ſpring of this unhappy train of conduct, took its riſe from the treachery of the miniſtry, abetted by a band of corrupt mercenaries, and ſupported by the defects of a conſtitution which had conveyed too much power to the crown; none of which is true: it was the embarraſſment of the national affairs, firſt by the peace of Utrecht; here the foundation was naturally laid: and the diſorders ariſing afterwards from the unſettled ſtate of Europe, produced the quadruple alliance; that, in proceſs of time, brought on the treaty of Hanover; and from the treaty of Hanover, by the fatal miſconduct of joining with France againſt the

houſe

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houſe of Auſtria, Sir Robert Walpole became involved in ſuch difficulties as he could never recover; for ſince that time, this miſconduct was continued by an immutable, timid, and obſtinate character in the miniſter, ſtill treading in the ſame difficult and trackleſs paths. But prejudicial as all his future meaſures were to the nation, they were of ſuch a nature, as could not be imputed to any corrupt engagements with any foreign power; his imprudence was illimitably remote from any deſign to betray the honour and intereſt of his royal maſter; who had not, throughout the whole circle of his extenſive dominions, a man of greater private honour or integrity, or a ſubject who bore him a truer allegiance and a more loyal affection: the whole miſmanagement of his adminiſtration, was owing to the unavoidable conſequences of the treaty of Hanover, and a chain of fatal circumſtances, neither derived from a greater degree of corruption, than will be found in any opulent ſtate upon earth; nor from any defects, but what are to be met with in the pureſt conſtitution under heaven.

In this criſis of affairs, the ruin of the houſe of Auſtria appeared almoſt impoſſible, highly improbable, to prevent: the whole nation were naturally diſpoſed, and ſuffered, to think, that a change of the miniſter, and the introduction of ſome of the principal leaders in the oppoſition, into the chief employments, was the ſole aim of the parliament, as well as it was the utmoſt object of the wiſhes of the people: they were unanimous for aſſiſting the Queen of Hungary, and in ſuch a ferment, that nothing but confuſion was expected by every rational man. To avert this confuſion, it was obvious that the miniſter

must be removed, for the public would not engage in those expensive undertakings, which were the only resource left, under the conduct of the present administration; and there is reason to believe, that his majesty was as much convinced of the necessity of a revolution in the ministry, as Sir Robert was convinced it was high time to prepare for it; being certain to find the royal protection extend as far as it constitutionally could, to secure his person from the rage and fury of the time. CHAP. I. 1742.

THE opposition in the house of commons, finding their ascendancy, immediately began to experience the force of their superiority, which was soon manifested in the debates on the controverted elections for Bossiney in Cornwall, the city of Westminster, the shire of Berwick, and Chippenham in Wiltshire; which, being all decided in favour of the opposition, evidently demonstrated to Sir Robert Walpole, the declension of his interest, and the conclusion of his influence in the house of commons, who prudently provided against the impending blow, by retiring from a place, where the majority of a single vote might have sent him to the tower.

A Change of the administration being now become absolutely necessary, the equality of parties being such that no business could be carried on, this change was resolved; and as it required some time to deliberate upon the first changes, and for those other members of the opposition, who were to be first taken in to be rechosen; for this purpose it was requisite to adjourn the house: accordingly, on the 3d of February, his majesty came to the parliament, and adjourned both houses to the 18th.

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On this occaſion Sir Robert Walpole, on the 8th of February, was ennobled with the title and dignity of Baron of Houghton in the county of Norfolk, Viſcount Walpole, and Earl of Orford in the county of Suffolk; and, on the 11th, reſigned all his employments.

The character of a true politician may be juſtly defined to be, "A man of probity, converſant in hiſtory and law, particularly the "law of nations; perfectly underſtanding the "preſent ſtate of affairs at home, as well as abroad; and, above all, acquainted with the "humour of different nations, and their manner of thinking." That Sir Robert was a ſtateſman of great abilities, cannot be refuted; and had his comprehenſion of foreign affairs, been equal to his knowledge of the ſtate and temper of the Britiſh nation, his reputation would have been ſuperior to any of his predeceſſors: therefore, to his deficiency in the firſt, may be aſcribed his reluctancy to a land war; which he conjectured, would be neceſſarily produced by ſtrongly aſſiſting the houſe of Auſtria: and to his accompliſhed capacity in the latter, may be obviouſly diſcerned his reaſon for avoiding a war with Spain. In the earlier part of his adminiſtration, he too much neglected popularity, and always ſtudied how to avoid a war, as the means to procure the continuance and eaſe of his adminiſtration: he knew, that in war, if unſucceſsful, the ill ſucceſs is always attributed to the miniſter; if fortunate, that it muſt be unavoidably attended with great expence, at which, in the long continuance, the people generally murmur: he likewiſe ſaw, that in war, military men, and active ſpirits, muſt gradually obtain ſome ſhare

of

of power, which he was determined wholly to engroſs. CHAP. I.

IF a man looks through the depth of ages, and caſts an eye round the habitable world, every hour of life will demonſtrate to him the imperfection and weakneſs of human judgment; as alſo, the imminent danger to which mankind are every moment expoſed: an immutable uniformity of conduct, and a conſtant equality in temper, is really above the reach of man; perfection dwells only in ſuperior beings: therefore, as every man is liable to human frailty, common charity ſhould bind all to excuſe imperfections, from which, as the wiſeſt and greateſt of men are not exempted, they ſhould alſo meet with the ſame good-nature and remiſſion as the meaner and inferior part of mankind; and to this Sir Robert Walpole was well intitled, as his perſonal qualities were very commendable, and worthy the character of the honourable and virtuous man, always generous to a friend, never ſevere to an enemy. 1742.

On the reſignation of Sir Robert Walpole, the Duke of Newcaſtle continued in his office of principal ſecretary of ſtate; Sir Robert was ſucceeded by Samuel Sandys, Eſq; in the office of chancellor and under treaſurer of the exchequer; Lord Harrington was advanced to the dignity of an Earl, and made preſident of the council; Lord Carteret ſucceeding him as one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate; the Marquis of Tweedale was conſtituted ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, a poſt which had been ſuppreſſed during the late adminiſtration; his grace John Duke of Argyle was promoted to the rank of field marſhal of his majeſty's forces in South Britain, and made maſter general of the ordnance;

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William Pulteney, Esq; was appointed one of the privy council: a new commission issued, appointing the Earl of Wilmington, Sir John Rushout, Samuel Sandys, George Compton, and Philip Gybbon, Esqs; lords of the treasury: soon after, the Right Honourable Daniel, Earl of Winchelsea and Northampton; John Cockburne, Esq; Lord Archibald Hamilton; Lord Baltimore; Philip Cavendish, Esq; George Lee, Doctor of Laws; and John Morley Trevor, Esq; were appointed lords of the admiralty: the Duke of Marlborough was made colonel of the second regiment of foot guards; Thomas Matthews, Esq; was made vice admiral of the red; Edward Vernon, Esq; vice admiral of the white; Nicholas Haddock, Esq; vice admiral of the blue; Sir Chaloner Ogle, Knt rear admiral of the red; and Richard Lestock, Esq; rear admiral of the white: his majesty also made a promotion in his army of two lieutenant-generals, three major-generals, and eight brigadiers.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales esteeming Sir Robert Walpole as a bar between the king and the affections of his people, between the king and foreign powers, and between the king and himself, stood in the front of the opposition, and for some years had absented from his majesty; but as the first happy effect of the change in the ministry, his royal highness waited on his majesty at St James's, attended by a great concourse of nobility, and other persons of distinction, was received in the most gracious and affectionate manner, and a guard was immediately ordered to attend his royal highness at Charlton House.

The whole nation loudly testified their joy and approbation of this change in the government;

ment; they expected the national honour to be retrieved; and addreſſes, from every part, were ſent to their repreſentatives in parliament, expreſſing their ſatisfaction on ſo ſeaſonable an event, and ſtrongly recommending to them a purſuit of meaſures, conducive to the reſtoring and maintaining the antient conſtitution, and to concur in making the ſtricteſt enquiry into the cauſe of paſt miſmanagements. CHAP. I. 1742.

As the whigs, who had confederated in the oppoſition, never intended to continue an alliance with the tories, any further than the removal of the miniſter, and an alteration in his ſyſtem of politics; they endeavoured to keep that party from the lead in the government, and to prevent them from engroſſing any material ſhare in the adminiſtration. As the choice of thoſe already preferred, had fallen principally upon the whigs, it adminiſtred matter of great jealouſy to, and was an ill omen for the tories, who expected nothing leſs than to be admitted into a coalition of power; and though his majeſty had already ſupplied the principal miniſterial poſts, with perſons who had long been moſt confided in by the people, the tories had very juſt ſuſpicions they were to be deſerted by theſe gentlemen in power, and that none, or only a few, of the tories would be permitted to preſide in the government.

THE parliament met, purſuant to their adjournment, on the 18th of February; and, on the 1ſt of March, a motion was made in the houſe of commons "For the repealing of the "ſeptennial act, and reſtoring triennial parlia-"ments;" which met with violent oppoſitions, and after a long debate was rejected; though moſt of the members had been inſtructed by their

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1742. IT was now very evident, that the tories had hitherto been only ſubſervient in aſſiſting their confederated whigs, to remove Sir Robert Walpole, and pave the way to their advancement; from which the tories were not only generally excluded, but had the mortification to perceive they could not avail themſelves. This created a party againſt the new miniſtry, whoſe influence was already ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that his grace the Duke of Argyle, diſguſted at their conduct, on the 10th of March, reſigned all his employments; and was ſucceeded by the Duke of Montagu as maſter of the ordnance.

THE public were at this time unanimous for an enquiry into the adminiſtration of Sir Robert Walpole; the crime they imputed to him was that of applying not only all the favours of the crown, but even the public money towards gaining a corrupt influence at elections and in parliament; and according to their deluded ſentiments, he was to make an attonement, by no leſs a ſacrifice than the loſs of his life, his eſtate, his honours, and the utter ruin of his poſterity: this was the voice of the undiſcerning multitude; and had he not been defended in the manner which he was, ſuch a ſentence, in the rage of that time, had been in all probability his fate: though the laws muſt have been more tortured to have reached him capitally, than he had ſtrained his power to maintain himſelf. Among the wiſer part of mankind, few were in their hearts inclined to this extremity; though ſome, by the fatal attraction of party, might have violently, and indiſcreetly, wiſhed to have ſeen that puniſhment inflicted on the miniſter, they muſt, when the

the ferment had ſubſided, have afterwards heartily lamented for the man. But though the more moderate in the ſenate, were diſinclined to take any ſevere revenge on a miſtaken man, who had treſpaſſed upon the power in his hands, yet they were willing to concur ſo far, as to deprive him of any poſſibility of exerting the ſame again: to do this, muſt be by detecting and expoſing the miſmanagement of the former adminiſtration, by a public enquiry into the conduct of the miniſter. In this they gratified the voice of the nation; but, at the ſame time, determined to protect and preſerve him from the rage and violence to which he was expoſed. This enquiry was alſo the more neceſſary, as it would be in vain for the parliament to attempt to retrieve their loſt honour, by purſuing new meaſures, if they did not firſt cenſure the authors of the old: vain muſt be their attempt to gain allies, and to convince them that they were in earneſt in the proſecution of the war againſt their enemies abroad, unleſs they firſt called thoſe to an account, that had been their ſecret abettors and encouragers at home.

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ACCORDINGLY, on the 9th of March, the Lord Viſcount Limerick moved the houſe of commons, "That a committee might be appointed to enquire into the conduct of affairs "at home and abroad, for the laſt twenty years;" but ſeveral of the members, who were otherwiſe inclined to have favoured the motion, oppoſed it, becauſe they apprehended it to be too extenſive as to time, and too extenſive as to matter; and that an inquiry for ſo long a time back, was thought to be without precedent; and, if allowed, would be ſuch a precedent, as might be of dangerous conſequence in future times: another objection

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objection was also started to the motion, as it comprehended all foreign as well as domestic affairs, which must of course have brought all the papers relating to the foreign negociations before the committee, and thereby endanger the discovery of some of the most important secrets of the government to its enemies, which might be of the most fatal consequence, now the nation was engaged in one war, and in great likelihood of being soon obliged to engage in another: and these reasons having great weight in the house, the motion, after a long debate, was rejected, by a majority of two. Not discouraged with this disappointment, the same nobleman on the 23d, made another motion, "That a committee be "appointed, to enquire into the conduct of Ro-"bert Earl of Orford, during the last ten years "of his being first commissioner of the treasury, "and chancellor and under treasurer of his ma-"jesty's exchequer:" which was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of seven: and the house resolved, "That a committee of secrecy, "in number twenty-one, should be chosen by "balloting."

THE committee being chose, and the house having ordered "That they should have power "to send for persons, papers, and records, and "to examine, in the most solemn manner, such "persons as they thought proper, upon the sub-"ject matter of their inquiry;" they proceeded to business: and, upon the 13th of April, the Lord Limerick, their chairman, reported to the house, "That the committee met with great "obstructions in their inquiry;" for having ordered Nicholas Paxton, Esq; solicitor to the treasury, Gwynn Vaughan, Esq; and Mr Scrope, secretary to the treasury, before them, for an examination,

examination, they refuſed anſwering the interrogatories exhibited by the committee; the two firſt alledging, that the laws of England did not compel a man to ſay any thing that might tend to accuſe himſelf; and the latter, in whoſe name all the ſecret ſervice money was iſſued, amounting to above a million, refuſed to anſwer any queſtion, pleading his majeſty's injunctions to the contrary, and that he was not permitted to reveal any thing on that ſubject: the committee therefore repreſented to the houſe, "That they could "not help obſerving, that this perſeverance in "refuſing to anſwer, ſeemed to take its riſe "from a premeditated ſcheme to obſtruct and "fruſtrate their enquiry; and, ſhould it paſs "unregarded, might probably communicate "itſelf to other perſons, whom they might have "occaſion to call before them; and, by that "means, render it impoſſible to lay a clear ſtate "of affairs before the houſe." CHAP. I. 1742.

MR PAXTON had been already committed to Newgate, for his obſtinate behaviour to the committee, and upon this report to the houſe, it was reſolved "That leave be given to bring in a "bill for indemnifying ſuch perſons as ſhould, "upon examination, make diſcoveries touching "the diſpoſition of public money, or concerning "the diſpoſition of offices, or any payment or "agreement, in reſpect thereof, or concerning "other matters relating to the conduct of Ro-"bert Earl of Orford." This bill was drawn up, paſſed, and ſent up to the lords, where a motion was made for its being committed; upon which a long debate enſued, wherein it was affirmed, by a noble lord lately admitted into the miniſtry, to be contrary to juſtice, the laws of nature, and the fundamental maxims of the

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British constitution, and even without precedent: and, the question being at last put, it was carried in the negative, by a majority of fifty-two; there being 139 lords present, and twenty-seven proxies, though no less than thirty-two lords, and amongst them the most eminent and best esteemed part of the nobility, entered their protest against the rejecting of this bill, because they conceived it might prove a dangerous precedent, of fatal consequence to the constitution; since, whenever the nation should be visited by a wicked minister, those who should have served him in defrauding and oppressing the public, and in corrupting individuals, would be furnished with an excuse for refusing their evidence; their danger would produce his security, and he might enjoy, with safety, the plunder of his country. Nay, they even apprehended, that the rejecting of this bill might be understood, by those who could make any discovery, as if that house designed to discourage any evidence whatsoever, that could effect the person, whose conduct the secret committe was appointed by the house of commons to enquire into.

However loudly the popularity of the nation called for an enquiry, however ardently they sought for justice, and however eagerly they hoped for redress; they were now disappointed. The new ministry only wanted to expose the misconduct of the Earl of Orford; and, when this was done, they intended to protect him from any danger, such a proceeding might naturally incurr, and from the open and declared vengeance of an enraged multitude. With this view, the new ministry, conjunctively with the other part of the late opposition, proceeded to promote an enquiry into the conduct of the late minister, which

which they pushed so far, as to make it evident that he had practised many artifices of corruption to influence elections, and by making use of the wealth, power and places of the crown, to introduce a criminal dependency in parliament, and to sap the constitution at its very foundation: for such purposes, he was discovered to have been guilty of a great profusion of the public money; and it appeared, that the money expended for secret service, during the last ten years of his administration, amounted to 1,168,292 *l.* 4 *s.* 8 ½ *d.* more than was expended, in the same term of years, from the 1st of August 1707, to the 1st of August 1717, in which last interval of ten years, all the circumstances occurred, which can be urged in justification of the account charged on the Earl of Orford, such as a general war, the negotiations for a general peace, two total changes of the administration, violent party struggles, a royal demise, the happy accession of the present royal family, many popular commotions, and a rebellion. This was a plain manifestation, as far as the enquiry extended, with whatever difficulties and discouragements embarrassed, that the late minister had made too free with his trust on the one hand, and the constitution on the other: the new ministry wanted no further or greater accusation; the public were made sensible of his errors and mismanagement; and though the populace wanted him to be abandoned, as a victim, to their blind and outrageous fury, the example and fate of the famous De Wit in Holland, was too recent in the mind of every compassionate man, to suffer him to stand unsheltered and unprotected from so furious a storm. The new ministry saw his danger, generously stepped in the breach, and saved him

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from deſtruction; for as they dreaded to found their adminiſtration on ſteps cemented by blood, it was more honourable, juſt, and meritorious, to ſtop ſhort; without denouncing that ſentence, or inflicting that puniſhment, which, though perhaps very many thought was due, could fix nothing leſs than the guilt of murder upon an exaſperated nation: and leſs than murder could it hardly be if they had taken the life of that man, when no law of the land had ſubjected him to death; which muſt have been productive of the greateſt confuſion among the people; for, however fond Britons are to have men, who have impaired the dignity of the nation, brought to condign puniſhment, if at one time they raſhly wiſh, and at laſt behold the diſmal ſcene of blood flowing on a ſcaffold, they ever after deteſt the thought, and ſtrive to exclude the melancholly moment eternally from their memory. Nor is it to be imagined that his majeſty, a prince of ſuch known and univerſal clemency, though he had thus delivered up a favourite miniſter, to ſatisfy the clamours of his ſubjects; it is not to be conceived, that he, whoſe royal boſom ſo tenderly feels every tie of humanity, ſhould ſtand an unconcerned and idle ſpectator, and willingly ſuffer an old miniſter, who, however pernicious to the intereſt of his country, was ever loyally attached to the ſervice of his king, to fall unguarded before the ſtorm that had been long collecting, to ſweep him away and plunge him in eternity.

As the members of the long oppoſition had been divided; thoſe who were in power, united by ſome of the late miniſterial friends, and promoting others of their own, obtained a viſible aſcendancy in the parliament: many of the leading

ing tories were neglected by the miniſtry; party again began to kindle; it grew warm; the egg of diſcontent was hatched, and when the ſhell burſt, another oppoſition was diſcloſed. Whigs and tories were blended in ſuch confuſion, ſome in, and others out of employment, that the diſtinction vaniſhed; while the court, and country intereſt, were now the characteriſtic denominations of the contending parties. CHAP. I. 1742.

THE other domeſtic alterations, effected by the revolution of the miniſtry, were altogether inconſiderable; except the paſſing of a bill, to leſſen the miniſterial influence in parliament, though not in ſo effectual a manner as to give ſatisfaction to the country party. In foreign affairs the miniſtry were very induſtrious, in purſuing meaſures entirely oppoſite to the pacific plan, ſo long and ſo fatally proſecuted; they maintained their principle of ſupporting the houſe of Auſtria, and furniſhed her with effectual ſupplies.

THE national debt, on the 31ſt of December 1741, amounted to 46,956,146 *l.* of which, 1,012,200 *l.* was encreaſed ſince the 31ſt of December 1740.

THE grants, for the current ſervice of the year 1742, amounted to 5,723,536 *l.* for which the committee of ways and means provided 6,100,000 *l.* which was a ſurplus of 376,463 *l.*

THE generality of the Britiſh nation expected the parliament, at ſo remarkable a period, would have unanimouſly exerted themſelves, to have eſtabliſhed the moſt ſalutary laws, to reſtrain any future miniſterial influence; but the legiſlature were more intent on protecting the Queen of Hungary, and reſtoring the ballance of Europe, now preponderating to the force of France; they

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they looked upon the preſervation of the houſe of Auſtria, to be as eſſentially requiſite for the liberty of Britain, as the ſafety of the barrier towns are to the Dutch republic; they knew there was no other way than by the ſpeedy interpoſition of Britain, to ſuſtain the drooping ſpirits of the Queen of Hungary, and of her diſtreſſed and faithful ſubjects, in the deſperate condition to which they were reduced; and to convince the Dutch, the King of Sardinia, and all foreign powers, that ſhe could and would receive aſſiſtance from the Britiſh parliament. The form of the Dutch government in particular, made them ſlow to reſolve, and their ſituation made it deſperate to engage, till they were ſure of a ſolid ſupport: the King of Sardinia had heartily, and generouſly, ſtepped into the breach, but his circumſtances were, if poſſible, ſtill more critical: the Kings of Pruſſia and Poland, neither could have ſtopped, if they would, nor probably would if they could, and muſt have been hurried on where France ſhould have directed, or their own ambition have invited; if, by the gathering of this cloud, a ſtorm had not been threatened from the quarter of Great Britain, which might have created both doubts and terror, as to the event of their quarrel: this was therefore the only way to induce them to be more moderate and circumſpect in their proceedings.

ACCORDINGLY the parliament, on the 3d of April, granted the ſum of 500,000*l.* and voted to ſend 16,334 effective men into Flanders, for the aſſiſtance of the Queen of Hungary. His Britannic majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with the reſolutions of his parliament, in protecting the Queen of Hungary, that, the more effectually to give her ſpeedy and requiſite aſſiſtance, the

Earl

Earl of Stair, who had been lately promoted to the rank of field marſhal, was made commander in chief of the Britiſh forces deſigned for Flanders, and alſo appointed ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General, to endeavour to concert and take, jointly with their High Mightineſſes, the proper meaſures for preſerving the liberty of Europe, and re-eſtabliſhing a juſt ballance of power. CHAP. I. 1742.

ON the 24th of April, his Britannic majeſty appointed the third and fourth troops of horſe guards, the ſecond troop of horſe grenadier guards, the King's and Major-General Legonier's regiments of horſe; Honeywood's, Campbell's, Hawley's, Cadogan's, Rich's, and Cope's dragoons: three battalions of foot guards; Howard's, Cornwallis's, Duroure's, Pulteney's, Campbell's, Peers's, Handaſyd's, Huſke's, Bragg's Ponſonby's, Johnſon's, and Bligh's regiments of foot, being in all 16,350 men, to be embarked as ſoon as poſſible for Flanders, and to remain there under the command of Lieutenant-General Honeywood till the arrival of the Earl of Stair, who was then to take upon himſelf the command, having under him the Lieutenant-Generals Honeywood, Earl of Dunmore, and Campbell; the Major-Generals Howard, Cope, Legonier, Hawley, and Earl of Albemarle; and the Brigadiers Cornwallis, Earl of Effingham, Pulteney, Bragg, Huſke, and Ponſonby.

THE Earl of Stair had already embarked on his embaſſy to Holland; and the troops, after paſſing in review before his majeſty at Kew Green, repaired to Deptford and Woolwich, where they took ſhipping and were ſafely tranſported to Flanders.

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THE joy upon this change and diſpoſition of the Britiſh adminiſtration, was not confined to their own dominions; all thoſe ſtates upon the continent who had an intereſt in the proſperity of Great Britain, all its natural allies ſhared in it. The news no ſooner arrived in Holland, than the States General, though the gold of France had corrupted their aſſemblies, ſhewed a more favourable diſpoſition to renew the antient good underſtanding, ſo neceſſary for checking the ambitious views of any power upon the continent. It was no ſooner known in Germany, but it infuſed new ſpirit into the councils, and gave freſh courage to the arms of her Hungarian majeſty; her affairs immediately took a more favourable turn, and ſhe was long crowned with the moſt happy advantages, and ſurprizing ſucceſs. The King of Sardinia ſaw his own danger in the ruin of the houſe of Auſtria, he knew that houſe had long before been abandoned by its allies, and could venture only to refuſe the Spaniſh troops a paſſage through his territories, on their coming to invade the Auſtrian dominions in Italy; but no ſooner was he apprized of the revolution in the Britiſh miniſtry, than he diſcovered a reſolution in joining to ſupport the houſe of Auſtria.

WHILE France received the news of this change with the utmoſt conſternation, and trembled at the promiſing unanimity and good conduct of a nation ſo long diſregarded. His Moſt Chriſtian majeſty immediateiy called an extraordinary council of ſtate, wherein it was reſolved, "To put that kingdom in the beſt poſture of "defence, and to purſue the affairs of the ma"rine with the utmoſt diligence;" but the moſt certain and public proof of this change being dil-

disagreeable to the French was, that as soon as the rumour spread abroad, their stocks fell from 2,005*l.* to 1,965*l.* Spain began to repent her ambitious schemes on Italy; looked upon the troops she had lately transported thither, as a sacrifice to the resentment of Britain, thus actuated by a new ministry; she shuddered for her provinces in America, and even despaired of the Two Sicilies. The King of Prussia wished he had not overacted the hero, and the Elector of Saxony that he had not engaged so deeply with France. The Duke of Bavaria, while he was seating himself on the imperial throne, in the very moment when he could most have exulted in his ambition, wished it had been more moderate; the scene of his native country, when over-run by the victorious Marlborough, rose full in view; the fate of his exiled father strongly occurred to his memory; and he, and all the other Germans confederated with France, repented them of their credulity. Nor was Sweden less anxious for having confided too implicitly in French professions.

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CHAPTER II.

The election of the DUKE of BAVARIA to the Imperial throne; and the preparations for, and profecution of, the campaign in BAVARIA.

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WHILE her Hungarian majeſty was rejoicing at a revolution in the Britiſh miniſtry, ſo favourable to her intereſt; the miniſtry of France, firm in their determination, of placing the imperial crown on the head of the Duke of Bavaria, made every effort, practiſed every artifice, and neglected no opportunity, to effect a ſcheme ſo important to their intereſt. For this purpoſe the Marſhal Belleiſle, one of their moſt able negociators and generals, had been employed in Germany, almoſt ever ſince the death of the late emperor. By the alliance concluded with the Kings of Poland and Pruſſia, the electoral votes of Saxony and Brandenburgh were ſecured in favour of Bavaria; the ſituation of the army commanded by Marſhal Maillebois, having extorted the Hanoverian treaty of neutrality, and intimidated the Elector of Mentz, procured the votes of thoſe two princes: and the Electors of Cologne, and the Palatinate, needed

no

no influence to promote the intereſt of the Duke of Bavaria. CHAP. II.

THE fate of the election being thus predetermined, the firſt thing reſolved on by the united electors, was, to ſuſpend the vote of the electorate of Bohemia; and the Elector of Hanover having, at leaſt, made no oppoſition to this ſuſpenſion, the Queen of Hungary was excluded from having any ſhare in the election: ſo that it appeared the Duke of Bavaria would be thus unanimouſly choſen by all the electors admitted to have a ſhare in the election; though by the tenor of the golden bull, which preſcribes the ceremonies of the election, the choice of the emperor is confined to the majority of electoral votes. 1742.

THIS imperial edict, eſtabliſhed in the year 1356, is as much the fundamental law of the empire, as the ever glorious Magna Charta is of the liberties of England; and, by this edict, the Elector of Mentz, as high chancellor of the empire, and dean of the electoral college, is obliged, on the vacancy of the imperial throne, to ſend his circular letters to every elector, to give them notice of the time and place of the ſucceeding election, which is to be three months from the date of the letters; when the electors are to repair in perſon, or by their deputies, to the city of Francfort on the Maine, to elect a new emperor; which, when they begin their deliberations, they are, by this edict, confined to do in thirty days, under the pain of being reduced to bread and water, without any other nouriſhment, for as long as they exceed that time. The Elector of Mentz, purſuant to this edict, on the emperor's death, iſſued circular letters to all the electors; but as an inſtance that

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the most provident and salutary laws are often defeated in Germany, as well as other countries, it was the 24th of January 1742 before the electoral college assembled at Francfort and chose the Duke of Bavaria to preside on the imperial throne; where he arrived on the 31st, and swore to the imperial capitulation, which is the chief thing that requires the mature deliberations of the electors; being such necessary restrictions, to which, according to the exigencies of the time, and the power of the prince elected, they think proper to subject the imperial dignity, as the means of securing the whole constitution of the empire in their rights, without danger of falling under an arbitrary power; to which, before the reign of Charles V. they were often little remote, for want of this contract: and therefore they afterwards obliged every emperor to sign it before his coronation, as the condition of his election, and which he is to observe, as the rule and standard of his government, during his whole reign.

On the 12th of February the emperor was crowned, with the usual solemnities, by the name of Charles VII. he was afterwards recognized by the Pope, who, according to the antient custom on this occasion, granted the letters of dispensation to excuse the emperor going into Italy to take the two crowns of Rome and Milan, as the Popes had long looked upon the single election, and the oaths usually taken by every emperor at his coronation, to be a plenary investiture of all the rights and dignities of the empire, and that all the rest were but ceremonies to make the German election more solemn and public.

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THE ambaſſador ſent from Vienna, with the deputation of the Queen of Hungary's electoral vote for Bohemia, was treated at Francfort with much indecency, and her deputies at the diet were even refuſed the accuſtomary paſſports. This ſuſpenſion of the vote of Bohemia by the electoral college, being without the conſent of the two other colleges of the diet, and the imperial cities, gave the Queen of Hungary juſt reaſon to enter a ſolemn proteſt, as ſhe did, againſt ſo unprecedented a proceeding, and ſo flagrant a violation of one of the moſt ſacred and material articles contained in the golden bull; for if her majeſty could be thus deprived of her vote at the election, and upon other occaſions, as was then intended, no ſtate of the empire, how powerful ſoever, could any longer find ſecurity in the fundamental laws and conſtitutions of that body; and ſhe hoped, from the equanimity of the electoral body, to procure a juſt ſatisfaction for the preſent injury, and ſufficient ſecurity for the time to come; reſerving, by her proteſt, the preſervation of all her rights, againſt the prejudice already done, and for the future. While France was well pleaſed in her ſucceſsful ſcheme of fixing an impotent prince on the throne of Germany, whoſe electoral princes had thus ſoothed the pride of their Gallic dictators.

THE imperial dignity is too weighty to be ſupported by any but a powerful prince; the Duke of Bavaria is the weakeſt of all the ſecular electors, and therefore the more proper utenſil to be employed in the hands of France, to diminiſh the houſe of Auſtria and the whole empire; and his inability of ſuſtaining this load of grandeur, muſt always oblige him into a ſervile ſubſerviency to France, while he intends to keep the

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the imperial ſeat; and this ſubſerviency muſt neceſſarily deſtroy the liberties of the empire, and with it, the liberties of Europe. An Emperor of Germany has indeed a title magnificent and ſuperb, but without hereditary dominions has only the ſhadow of ſovereignty; the Germanic body, conſiſting of the emperor, the King of the Romans, the electors, the princes and counts, the biſhops and abbots, and the free or imperial cities, all of each denomination, are ſeparate independant ſovereignties, ſubject to certain regulations, terms, and obligations, mutually and voluntarily entered into, for their common ſecurity and preſervation. Various have been the diſquiſitions of each of theſe parties, for the appellation of this form of government; the civilians, who flattered the houſe of Auſtria, have contended for a monarchy; when others, employed by the princes, pleaded for an ariſtocracy; and a third ſort, who live in the free and imperial cities, appeared advocates for a democracy.

THE emperor is only the head of this great confederacy, without acquiring a foot of territory, or much effectual power; he is not the arbiter of peace and war, nor if engaged in a quarrel, independant of the whole Germanic body, can he demand of the ſtates any aſſiſtance, without their voluntary conſent and promiſe: his revenues from the empire are very inſignificant, and ſmall is the real advantage an emperor enjoys above other princes of the empire, unleſs his own riches and force command it. The wealth, extent, and potency of the Auſtrian dominions, gave that family this opportunity, and alſo veſted in their hands the only ſolid advantage of the imperial dignity, by giving them the power of diſpoſing all fiefs, forfeited eſtates, and honours,

to

to the profit of their own children. By such forfeitures, Austria and Styria, of which Ottocar King of Bohemia was deprived, came into this family by the gift of the Emperor Rodolph; who, from Count of Hapsburg, a small place in Alsatia, as one of the peculiar favourites of fortune, in October 1273, was elected to the imperial throne, and was the first founder of the present illustrious line of the house of Austria: it was this imperial right centered in them a great part of Suabia, by the death of Conradin, youngest son of the Emperor Frederick II. it was this brought the Duchy of Milan into the disposal of Charles V. who, instead of applying it to the empire, annexed it to his own hereditary dominions: and it was this imperial dignity advanced the lustre of the house of Austria to such a degree of splendor, as to contract alliances with all those potent families by which they have augmented their dominions, and maintained the imperial crown, almost hereditary in their own family, for above 200 years. So that the reason is obviously apparent, why the house of Austria should so earnestly contend for the imperial dignity; and why France should endeavour to prevent it, as the only means of diminishing the power of Germany, which will be always a check on the ambition of France, so long as the imperial crown incloses the brows of an Austrian prince. CHAP. II. 1742.

THE new emperor had no sooner been invested with the crown, mantle, and sword of Charlemagne, the first monarch of the western empire, than he revoked the Aulic council, or supreme court of judicature, at Vienna, and established another at Francfort, from whence the Elector of Mentz, as chancellor of the empire, wrote to her

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THE courts of Versailles, Berlin, and Dresden, made early preparations to attack the Austrian forces in Bohemia and Moravia; the ministry of France were extremely eager to pursue the blow, and destroy the Austrians before they could collect a formidable army, sufficient to oppose the confederate forces. To support the war, the dixieme, or tenth penny of the whole substance of every secular subject of France, except the princes of the blood, was ordered to be levied; this tax, being collected with great severity, exasperated the populace to such a degree, that the public discontent broke out at Lyons into an open insurrection, where many thousands of an enraged multitude assembled, and broke into the houses of the intendant and chief magistrates, with a resolution to make them the victims of their tumultuous rage; but they happily escaped, and the mob dispersed, without any effusion of blood, or committing any other acts of violence. The ministry also demanded a loan of ten millions of livres from the financiers, or farmers of the royal revenue; the clergy granted his majesty a free gift of fourteen millions of livres; many of the provinces followed their example; and from the regulations proposed to be made, for the better collecting the public revenues, it was computed they would, this year, produce 232,000,000 of livres, or about 12,000,000 sterling.

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DURING the time of these important transactions and formidable preparations, the court of Vienna neglected no step to put the Austrian armies, both in Bohemia, Moravia, and Bavaria, in a condition of acting offensively. The ministers, and public officers under the government at Vienna, generously relinquished a moiety of their salaries to enable their queen to prosecute the war; their example was followed by those in the Austrian Netherlands; and this, together with the supply of 500,000 *l.* granted to the queen by the British parliament, enabled her majesty to assemble a numerous army in Germany, and to form another in Italy, which, with the assistance of providence, crowned her arms with a glorious and successful campaign.

THE British and Austrian ministers at the Hague, strongly sollicited the Dutch to send a body of troops to the assistance of the Queen of Hungary; but the French ministry had too much influence among the principal members of the states, and defeated the force of the remonstrances made by the British and Austrian embassadors. Though the republic seemed content with their establishment, and desiring no sort of aggrandisement, conceived their true interest to consist in the preservation of the peace and repose they enjoyed, and in the quiet possession of their estates and territories: yet Marshal Maillebois, having posted so great a body of troops near the frontiers of the states, gave the alarm, with much inquietude, to their high mightinesses. They had made two augmentations in the army, to watch over the safety of their country and the security of their subjects; and notwithstanding the Marquis de Fenelon, ambassador of France, had declared to them, "That the

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" march of thoſe troops was not intended againſt " the dominions or countries belonging to the " republic, nor even againſt their neighbours;" by which expreſſion the ſtates conceived was principally comprehended, the inhabitants of the Auſtrian Netherlands, with whom they had ſo ſtrict an union; and though the Cardinal de Fleury had made aſſurances to M. Van Hoey, the Dutch ambaſſador at Paris, that this army was never deſtined directly, nor indirectly, to give umbrage or trouble to the frontiers of the republic; yet the ſtates, being ſenſible of the diſſimulation and perfidy of France, and apprehenſive that the army under Marſhal Maillebois, on the Lower Rhine, would ſpeedily receive a reinforcement, they therefore wiſely reſolved on a third augmentation, by which the forces of the republic were increaſed to 100,000 men; their fleet was augmented by twenty-five men of war immediately put into commiſſion, and twenty-five more ordered to be built. To defray theſe expences, the States of Holland and Weſtfrieſeland impoſed an extraordinary tax on every wealthy ſubject, whereby ſuch as had a revenue from lands, trade, or any thing elſe, of 600 florins a year, or upwards, to 12,000 florins a year, were to pay at the rate of one florin for each hundred: thoſe who had the annual revenue of 12,000 florins, were to pay 300 florins a year; and thoſe whoſe revenue exceeded 12,000 florins a year, were to pay at the rate of fifty florins for every 2,000 they had of annual income: a law not only expedient, but provident, as it effectually raiſed the neceſſary ſupplies for the public ſervice, and exonerated the poor, without incommoding their trade, or increaſing the number of tax gatherers. This additional augmentation

tion awaked the ſuſpicions of France; and though the Cardinal de Fleury pretended to have too much confidence in their High Mightineſſes, to doubt the aſſurances they had given, that the augmentation of their troops did not regard France in any degree, and that the republic always intended to maintain a ſtrict and conſtant union with the king; he was jealous of the Britiſh influence among the members of the ſtates, whom he daily perceived to revolt from his views, and on whom he experienced all the force of flattery, and every inducement of corruption, to preſerve their adherence to the intereſt of France: and the cardinal having entirely devoted the Ambaſſador Van Hoey to his ſervice, that miniſter made ſuch artful and partial repreſentations of the friendſhip and ſincerity of the King of France, and the declarations of his miniſtry, for the welfare and happineſs of the republic; that, notwithſtanding the general part of the Dutch were willing and eager to aſſiſt the houſe of Auſtria, yet, through theſe artifices of France, this aſſiſtance was ſo long retarded, that the day when the Dutch forces ſhould take the field on ſuch an occaſion, appeared to all mankind, as uncertain as the remoteſt act preſcribed in the fartheſt page of the book of fate. CHAP. II. 1742.

WHILE the Dutch were remiſſively inclined from aſſociating their forces in the field to oppoſe the French, the negociations of the Queen of Hungary were attended with a more favourable aſpect in Italy; where his Sardinian majeſty, jealous of the Spaniards acquiring an Italian government, and determining to prevent any invaſion there on the Auſtrian dominions, had promiſed to aſſiſt her Hungarian majeſty: and, though the French miniſtry made very advanta-

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geous propoſals, to draw his Sardinian majeſty from an alliance ſo prejudicial to the intereſt of the houſe of Bourbon, this prince honourably rejected them all. He obſerved, that no prince or ſtate, whoſe intereſt and ſafety depended upon the preſervation of the ballance of power in Europe, ought to look, without the deepeſt concern, upon the complicated diſtreſſes of her Hungarian majeſty, and the whole houſe of Auſtria. The rapid progreſs and ſucceſs of the Pruſſian arms; the war between Ruſſia and Sweden; the late ſudden revolution at Peterſburgh, fomented by the emiſſaries of France, purpoſely to deprive the Queen of Hungary of any expected relief from the miniſtry of Ruſſia; and, above all, the exorbitant power of the houſe of Bourbon, from whoſe intrigues it now appeared, that all theſe public calamities took their riſe, were melancholly conſiderations to his Sardinian majeſty; who, as a man, deſpiſed the infractions of the pragmatic ſanction; as a prince, looked on himſelf as affected by ſuch atrocious proceedings; as a neighbour, ſaw the probability of falling the next ſacrifice to theſe violators of public ſecurity; as a monarch, he was jealous of a diminution of power, aud tender of the rights and privileges of his ſubjects; and therefore, he determined to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Queen of Hungary, by oppoſing the views of the houſe of Bourbon: for this purpoſe he only waited the arrival of the Auſtrian army, then aſſembling under Count Traun, to join them with a body of Piedmonteſe troops, in the Milaneſe.

HAVING thus repreſented the political conduct of the ſeveral powers at variance, it is time to trace out the military operations of a campaign, that occaſioned ſuch an amazing alteration in the con-

condition of her Hungarian majeſty, ſo highly advanced the reputation of her arms, and ſo greatly reduced the power, and diſpirited the hopes, of France. CHAP. II. 1742.

THE late elevation of the Elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne, gave him but a ſmall ſhare of happineſs: amid the loud acclamations that every way approached him, in the height of his magnificence, he had the misfortune, with an unavailing hand, and a perturbated heart, to behold his electoral dominions laid open to the victorious Auſtrians, conducted by the great Khevenhuller, the moſt conſummate general of his age. The ſtrong paſſes of the electorate had been already penetrated, ſeveral principal towns were reduced, and the Bavarian army defeated, during the ſeverity of the winter: the Auſtrians were ſoon after advancing into the bowels of this plentiful country, without the appearance of any moleſtation; and Munich, the capital ſeat of the Bavarian family, fell an eaſy prey to the unreſiſted invaders.

AFTER the taking of Lintz and Paſſau, Marſhal Khevenhuller continued there with the main body of the army, conſiſting of 10,000 men, while General Bernklau, with a detachment of 6,000 men, overran the whole country. Baron Trenck, having joined General Bernklau, with his body of pandours croſſed the river Iſer, took the town of Platlingen, and laid the country, on that ſide the river, under contribution; he afterwards took the town of Deckendorff, and ſcoured the Upper Palatinate, the northern part of the Bavarian electorate, formerly diſmembered from the Elector Palatine's dominions, on his aſſuming the title of King of Bohemia in oppoſition to the

PART III. the emperor, in the year 1620, and transferred to the Duke of Bavaria.

1742. MARSHAL THORING, with the ſhattered remains of the Bavarian army, conſiſting of 4,000 men, having in the beginning of February croſſed the Danube near Neuſtadt, and taken poſſeſſion of the poſt of Meyenburg, was purſued by General Bernklau, at the head of 1,000 dragoons, 1,000 huſſars, and 200 pandours, with an intention to diſlodge the Bavarians from their poſt. The Auſtrians commenced their march at one o'clock in the morning, and continued it till five the next evening, when they fell in with the firſt poſt of the Bavarians, where there was a ſquadron of huſſars, commanded by Count Seſſel, ſupported by 200 dragoons; who, upon their being attacked by Baron Trenck at the head of the Auſtrian huſſars, were ſoon broke, and fled in ſuch fear and confuſion, that in this ſkirmiſh Baron Trenck killed and wounded twenty men with his own hand; and, with the aſſiſtance of eight huſſars, made Count Seſſel, four officers and 187 men priſoners. Upon his return to General Bernklau with the priſoners, Baron Trenck was ordered to march with his pandours up to a village near Meyenburg, and attack the whole company of Bavarian life guards, who had thrown themſelves into that place, determining to make a deſperate defence. The baron, marching up, attacked them with ſo much fury at ten o'clock at night, that he entirely ſubdued them, after killing their captain, a lieutenant, and ſix men, beſides ſeveral others wounded: the remainder of the company, conſiſting of fifty-five men, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, together with their fine ſtandard, wrought all in needlework by the Electoreſs of Bavaria. The ſame night

night Count Rodolph Palfi forced a poſt of Bavarian infantry, and took 130 priſoners; while Marſhal Thoring, having information of this misfortune, made a forced march with the reſt of his little army, and contrived to croſs the Danube the ſame night, where he was in daily expectation of receiving a large reinforcement from France. CHAP. II. 1742.

GENERAL BERNKLAU, being joined by Prince Saxe Hildbourghauſen, with the Auſtrian troops from Italy, conſiſting of 10,000 men, marched up to Munich, the capital of Bavaria. This city is ſituated on the river Iſer, 60 miles S. W. of Ratiſbon, 200 W. of Vienna, 100 W. of Lintz, and 70 miles E. of Ulm: the city is large and elegant, and the palace exceeding any in Germany for magnificence; but the fortifications are inconſiderable, ſo that the city muſt always admit thoſe who are maſters of the field; and, when the Auſtrian general ſummoned it to ſurrender, the inhabitants immediately opened their gates to the conqueror, where Marſhal Khevenhuller ſoon afterwards made his arrival from Lintz. The poor Bavarians were now in a very deplorable ſituation; the ambition of their prince had expoſed them to the ſevereſt extremities of war; and they daily ſaw their country impoveriſhed, through the contributions every where exacted by the unmoleſted Auſtrians. The great Khevenhuller, who had not more bravery than humanity, commiſerated the misfortunes of a wretched people, abandoned by their deluded prince, to all thoſe ſcenes of devaſtation his father had before brought amongſt them, by the ſame imprudent conduct and obſtinate adherence to the views of France: but, though the Auſtrian general endeavoured to mitigate the ſeverity they were

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were liable to suffer, it was impossible for him entirely to restrain his soldiers from committing ravages in a country, whose plenty gave the strongest invitations for plunder; and, if the wild Croats and Sclavonians had not been permitted to have gratified their avarice with impunity, that ardour which inflamed them to revenge the injuries of their sovereign, had been extinguished; and the hussars, who procure their subsistance solely from the plunder they obtain, would have been dispirited and reluctant to hazard their lives with their usual intrepidity, if deprived of the prospect of acquiring a compensation for their bravery and service.

On the 26th of February Baron Trenck, with his pandours, was sent to attack the Bavarian garrison at Reichenhall; he arrived there the 29th, and commencing the attack, at five in the afternoon took post within twenty paces of the wall, by a smith's shop: he broke down the back part of the smith's house, and planted there two pieces of cannon. In the night, the baron received a reinforcement of two companies of grenadiers of Old Konigseck's; whereupon he redoubled the attack, and at length, after continuing their fire with great vivacity, the garrison, consisting of 300 regular troops, besides 700 archers, under the command of Colonel Mercy, consented to capitulate, and accordingly surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on the 30th of March. The Austrians had only six men killed and fifteen wounded, and found in the town, a booty of salt to the value of 300,000 florins.

The Bavarian huntsmen, who were posted in the windings of the river Iser, having plundered General Hermestein's baggage, robbed the escort, consisting of forty men, and murdered the

the captain, together with six common soldiers; Baron Trenck was detached, with 64 pandours and 400 croats, to reduce those hunters, who were now 1,200 desperate fellows, and obtain satisfaction for the damage done to General Hermestein, which amounted to 15,000 florins. The baron marched, on this dangerous expedition, in the dead of the night, from Munich to Wolferhausen; from whence he might reach, with no great difficulty, the next day, Tolk and Lengries, places situated on the windings of the Iser. Here the baron sent for intelligence, and received advice, that the hunters were increased to 1,800 men: notwithstanding this, he gave orders to his men, to hold themselves in readiness to march the next day; intending to give the hunters no further time to grow stronger: but the Croatian officers, intimidated at the number of the Bavarians, entered into a conspiracy with their 400 men, that instead of marching to Tolk, they should wheel about and take the road to Vilshoven; which, early in the morning, they put in execution, and left the baron with his 64 pandours, almost within sight of, and surrounded by, 1,800 Bavarian hunters. The baron, sensible of the danger he was exposed to, shewed on this occasion a remarkable instance of courage and resolution; for calling his men together, and assuming an air of spirit, told them, "That "as the cowardly Croatians had deserted them, "the booty would be all their own; and that "they had no room to be afraid, as the Bavari-"ans they had to engage with, were only a "parcel of raw undisciplined peasants." This encouraged the pandours; the baron headed them, and leading them along the side of a new road, fell suddenly upon the hunters, who had

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entrenched themſelves in the village of Lengries. The attack was ſo furious and deſperate, that, at the firſt onſet, the pandours had two men killed and ſix wounded: the baron, finding his fire inferior to the hunters, fell upon them ſword in hand; and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, entirely routed them. In the purſuit, the baron killed five men with his own hand; the pandours put 57 to the ſword, ſet fire to 36 houſes, and blew up 26 waggons of powder into the air, which the garriſon of Straubingen had ſent them for their defence; and all this was done with a very trifling loſs among the pandours. This defeat threw the hunters into ſuch a conſternation, that, upon ſummoning them the next day, they ſent the baron all their arms packed up in waggons, together with the men that had plundered General Hermeſtein's baggage, with part of it, and petitioned all for mercy. The baron accepted of their ſubmiſſion, but obliged them to pay 15,000 florins ready money, and to deliver a large quantity of forage and wood: the baron alſo took 572 fine horſes, with which he ſoon after arrived at Munich, where they were very acceptable to remount the army.

WHILE Marſhal Khevenhuller continued thus victorious in the Bavarian dominions, her Hungarian majeſty, ſenſible of the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit that prevailed among her troops, ſent a letter to the marſhal at Munich, together with her picture, and that of her young ſon the Arch-Duke Joſeph Benedict Auguſtus, born the 13th of March 1741; the pictures were curiouſly done in miniature, and the letter was conceived in theſe words:

"You have now before your eyes, a queen, "forſaken by all the world. What do you ima-

"gine

" gine muſt be the deſtiny of this infant? You cannot but perceive with what confidence your ſovereign commits to your charge, as to that of a faithful miniſter, all her power, her forces, and the whole fate of her kingdoms. Make uſe of this confidence, great hero, and faithful vaſſal, ſo as not to be afraid of rendering an account of your conduct to God and men. Let juſtice be your buckler, let equity be the rule of your actions; but be inexorable to thoſe who have forfeited their oaths and allegiance. Tread in the foot-ſteps of the great Prince Eugene, of glorious memory, your predeceſſor and maſter. Imitate his immortal example. Aſſure yourſelf that we and our deſcendants, ſhall for ever have for you and yours, a grateful remembrance. This we proteſt to you, in the name of every thing that is dear to us; and we wiſh you continual ſucceſs."

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THE marſhal having read this letter at a full table of the principal officers, every one preſent, fired by the generous example of their commander, with tears in their eyes, ſwore to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes to ſupport the honour and ſecurity of their ſovereign. The pictures were afterwards expoſed to the view of the ſoldiers, who, though long hardened againſt the ſofter touch of nature, at this reſemblance of a royal parent, and infant prince, were awakened to all their fears for the protection of ſacred majeſty, now emerging from the long incumbent gloom of affliction: the old veteran, and the ſavage mountaineer of Carpathia, felt their ſtubborn hearts diſſolve, at the melancholly reflection of the misfortunes of their queen; humanity guſhed from their eyes; and the latter, in contradiction

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to their wild and terrible appearance, shewed they were men: loyalty sprung from their hearts, and animating them with resolutions of courage, evinced they were soldiers and affectionate subjects: they drew, and first kissed their sabres, then the pictures; vowing an inviolable fidelity to the originals, with reiterated cries of "Long "live Maria Theresa:" and in their future behaviour, as if inspired by these noble thoughts, they discovered, on all occasions, not only courage and resolution, but even madness and fury.

THE imperial army in Bavaria, being joined by a body of 6,000 Palatine troops, Marshal Khevenhuller deemed it an infringement of the neutrality of the Elector Palatine, and leaving a garrison of 2,000 men in Munich, marched with the body of his army, and laid the city of Neuburgh under a contribution of 200,000 florins; and having advice, that Marshal Thoring had posted himself with a considerable body of troops in the neighbourhood of Laudsberg, with an intent to dispute the passage of the Austrians through the narrow defiles thereabouts, he sent General Bernklau with a detachment to attack them; who advanced to Ratisbon, a free and imperial city, 62 miles N. E. of Munich, in pursuit of the army under the command of Marshal Thoring, who retired to Kelheim, which, on the approach of the Austrians, he deserted, leaving a vast magazine behind him. General Bernklau, having put a garrison in Kelheim, pursued the Bavarian army to Ingolstadt, a town 20 miles west of Ratisbon, and 45 north of Munich; and having attacked them under the walls of that town, the Bavarians were defeated, and 300 made prisoners, amongst whom were Count Beau-

Beaujeau and his brother, Count Preyſing, and the Barons Weichel and Uberaker: after which, Marſhal Thoring, with the remainder of his army, haſtily retired to Donawert, 25 miles W. of Ingolſtadt; where the Auſtrian general did not think proper to continue the purſuit, and returned towards Ratiſbon. This occaſioned the return of Marſhal Thoring, who beſieged the Auſtrians in Kelheim, but meeting with three repulſes, and General Bernklau coming up to the relief of the garriſon, the Bavarian general was obliged to abandon the enterprize; and, about the middle of April, received a reinforcement of 20,000 French and Bavarians, commanded by the Duke de Harcourt, who were detached from Prague, and came by Amberg though the upper Palatinate.

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UPON this junction the French and Bavarian forces compoſed an army of 30,000 men; and Marſhal Khevenhuller being joined by the detachment under General Bernklau and the Prince of Saxe Hildbourghauſen had an army of 24,000 men. Marſhal Khevenhuller ſeized an advantageous poſt at Ortenburgh, near Paſſau; and detached General Bernklau to obſerve the motions of the confederates; who had detached 4,000 men to attack the Auſtrian garriſon in Munich. The Auſtrian garriſon, upon intelligence of their deſign, quitted the city, thinking it untenable. The citizens, imagining all their danger was over, began to expreſs their loyalty by refuſing admittance to a ſmall body of Auſtrian huſſars, and firing upon them, killed ſome of the huſſars, and took and detained ſome of their officers priſoners. But Colonel Mentzel, at the head of a ſtrong party of huſſars, appeared again before the city, on the 5th

of

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of May, and ſummoned the inhabitants to ſurrender; which they refuſed, and ſhut their gates; relying on relief from the French, who were then marching up to the city. But Marſhal Khevenhuller, highly diſapproving of the reſolution taken by the Auſtrian officers when they quitted Munich, ſent General Bernklau and Baron Trenck, with 5,000 men, with orders to re-poſſeſs that city. The advanced body arrived before the town, and joined Colonel Mentzel, while the French were yet three marches diſtant. When the Auſtrians firſt appeared before Munich, the inhabitants buried thirty-ſix pieces of cannon, which on their departure, they took up and planted on the walls and towers of the city; and having barricadoed the gates and broke down all the bridges, fired on this advanced party with great vivacity. The Auſtrians were obliged to wait that whole evening and night, till all their troops came up; and then, by break of day, they reſolved to ſtorm the town. The Auſtrians marched towards that part of the river, where the bridges had been broke down; and, upon their advancing, were taken in flank by two pieces of cannon, and in front by the hunters muſket-ſhot, who were poſted in ſome houſes on the oppoſite bank; inſomuch, that they ſoon loſt a conſiderable number of men, and amongſt the reſt a captain of grenadiers. The Auſtrians, diſregarding this fire, repaired one of the bridges, and laid two large planks on it; which was paſſed over by the pandours, grenadiers, and carpenters; and, as ſoon as the bridge was rendered more paſſable, they were followed by the croats and regular battalions, each under their reſpective officers, all ardently ſtriving who ſhould be firſt.

Upon

Upon croſſing the Iſer, they got into a kind of ſuburb, called Lachel, where they caught eight of the hunters who had galled them from the houſes, and in requital cut them to pieces. The Auſtrians were now maſters of Lachel, but had yet no footing in the town; when Baron Trenck, with his pandours, found a way to the elector's garden door, and got into the garden: juſt as he had broke open the other door, and was going to advance to the town walls, holding the door half open, the citizens fired from a battery directly oppoſite to his men, with cartridge ſhot; and being only twenty-five paces from them, killed eight of the pandours: on this the baron faſtened the door again, and went the right hand way along the wall of the elector's riding-houſe, till he came to the ditches, and took poſt in an adjacent houſe, over againſt the town. Though the bridges were broke down, yet there were two boards left acroſs a rivulet that ran into the ditches, which the pandours might have eaſily got over, and by means of a window that had been left open in one of the tower walls, through which it was no difficult matter to climb, they might have made themſelves maſters of the town; but if this ſcheme had been put in execution, it would have been impoſſible to have prevented the city from being plundered: and, as Marſhal Khevenhuller had ſtrictly prohibited any outrages to be committed on the inhabitants, Baron Trenck ordered his men to halt, and gave General Bernklau notice of the diſpoſitions he had made; who came immediately running to him, and deſired the pandours to proceed no further. General Bernklau therefore ſummoned the town to ſurrender; and after a ſhort conſultation, the burgomaſter with ſome of the aldermen,

CHAP. II. 1742.

PART III. dermen, were deputed to treat with the general on the terms of a capitulation, who granted them the moſt favourable and lenient conditions.

1742. Though the French Abbe Rouſſeau, in his account of the campaigns of the French King, has taxed the Auſtrians with heavy charges of cruelty and inhumanity to the Bavarians, it could be with no other deſign, than to frame the moſt favourable excuſe for the breach of treaties ſo notoriouſly violated by the French, in attacking the Queen of Hungary, and purſuing her troops to the confines of her Bohemian dominions; the conduct of the Auſtrians in Bavaria was far from deſerving the ſevere reflections thrown upon them by the Abbe Rouſſeau; all exceſſes of rapine and deſtruction beeing carefully and ſtrictly reſtrained: the Auſtrians, it is true, made large contributions; but in all their collections never ſhewed any extraordinary acts of ſeverity, other than what are uſually enforced by armies when in poſſeſſion of a country belonging to a declared enemy; and which the French had executed with the utmoſt rigour in Bohemia. Yet one particular action, committed by Baron Trenck, might probably be imputed as an inſtance of public ſeverity; but, in reality, tended only to the reſentment of a private injury, and the effects of a facetious humour; for the affair, however extenuated, was truly this. That nobleman, who enjoyed a conſiderable eſtate in Sclavonia, had incurred the diſpleaſure of Auditor Sazzenthal; who, in the year 1735, through the ſanction of his office, took an opportunity of unjuſtly impoſing upon the baron a fine of 1,700 florins, and alſo committed him to priſon, with no other pretence than that the baron, and his pandours, had purſued and killed ſome thieves who had

ſtolen

ſtolen his hunting horſes; the baron, though he had not forgot, had no opportunity of revenging this injuſtice on the magiſtrate, till he was now raiſing contributions in Bavaria, where he happened to meet with a country gentleman, at his ſeat, in a village four miles from Munich, who was brother-in-law to Auditor Sazzinthal: this gentleman, hearing the baron and his pandours were Sclavonians, and thinking his relation to the auditor would procure him reſpect, enquired of the baron if he was not acquainted with him, and ſeemed elated with the honour of being ſo neerly allied to the auditor; little ſuſpecting what a dangerous perſon he was ſpeaking to; who replied, he very well knew the auditor to be a great rogue, that he had treated him very ill in fining him 1,700 florins; and that, as ſeven years were ſince elapſed, he was determined to make him, for the honour of being his brother-in-law, repay both principal and intereſt: at firſt he refuſed to comply, but the baron threatening to give him 100 laſhes, he went into his cloſet, and brought him 500 ducats. So that the baron was humouroufly revenged of the auditor, without committing any act contrary to the laws of war; things of that nature being permitted in a hoſtile country upon any plauſible pretences.

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THE Bavarians having received a ſecond reinforcement from France, the confederate army was now augmented to 40,000 men, and pitched their camp by Neder-Altach. This obliged Marſhal Khevenhuller to recall his troops from Munich, and aſſemble all his army together near Vilſhoven, where, having thrown two bridges over the Danube, General Bernklau was detached, with Baron Trenck and a body of 6,000

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men, to croſs that river, and march as far as Zell, where they encamped and entrenched themſelves, within a league of the French and Bavarians; who, after ſuffering themſelves to be harraſſed by the excurſions of the Auſtrian irregulars, marched back to Deckendorff towards the end of May; and, after pitching their encampment, the Duke de Harcourt and Marſhal Thoring, with all the French grenadiers and picquets, and 3,000 Bavarian horſe, advanced to Hilkerſbergh, a caſtle on the Danube, with a deſign to ſeize the bridge the Auſtrians had there thrown over the river. The garriſon, which conſiſted of a ſtrong body of croats, on the appearance of the French and Bavarians, marched out of the caſtle with a reſolution to meet them; and, being ſupported by a reinforcement ſent to their aſſiſtance, under the command of General Helfreich, advanced forwards, and coming up to, attacked the confederates ſword in hand; and, after an obſtinate engagement, compelled the French and Bavarians to retire, with the loſs of 1,000 men killed and wounded, leaving behind them five field pieces and a nephew of the Duke de Harcourt, who was taken priſoner.

AFTER this action the French and Bavarians, though ſo greatly ſuperior in force to the Auſtrians, avoided an engagement; and as the arms of her Hungarian majeſty were victorious in Bohemia, Marſhal Khevenhuller deſiſted from harraſſing them, till he ſaw the event of the proceedings at Prague; and continued to obſerve the motions of the French in Bavaria, as he was intent on preventing them, or any other ſuccours of France, from penetrating into Bohemia, to the

the relief of their forces, who had been pent up and ſurrounded by the Auſtrians, in Prague.

CHAPTER III.

Military operations in BOHEMIA: the battle of CZASLAW: the reconciliation of the KING of PRUSSIA, and ELECTOR of SAXONY, with the QUEEN of HUNGARY, by the treaty of BRESLAW: and the commencement of the ſiege of PRAGUE by the AUSTRIANS.

ON the cloſe of the laſt campaign, after the reduction of Prague, the French and Bavarian army, conſiſting of 48,000 men, commanded by the Marſhals Broglio and Belleiſle, ſpread themſelves in Bohemia along the Muldaw, as far as the confines of Auſtria: while the Saxons and Pruſſians, being about 40,000 men, marched into Moravia; the former inveſting Brinn, and the latter ſending a detachment to beſiege Glatz, a ſtrong town ſituate at the foot of the mountains that divide Bohemia from Sileſia, which

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which was compelled to submit to superior force. The Austrians, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorrain, continued about Moravia; and the army commanded by Prince Lobkowitz, maintained themselves in Bohemia. Upon all sides were continual skirmishes, but there happened no material action; though the French and Bavarians were greatly reduced by the severity of the winter.

While Marshal Khevenhuller was overrunning the electorate of Bavaria, her Hungarian majesty, spirited by the prospect of a speedy assistance from the King of Great Britain and the King of Sardinia, was collecting a sufficient body of troops to reinforce her armies in Bohemia and Moravia.

Prince Charles, though his army was too insufficient to attack either the Prussians or Saxons in their entrenchments, yet often incommoded them by the excursions of his irregular troops, who very narrowly missed seizing the King of Prussia prisoner, having taken one of his general officers and one of his pages, his majesty escaping only by the fleetness of his horse. His highness having ordered General Philibert, with a detachment of 2,000 horse and 1000 croats, to observe the motions of the Saxons: the general received intelligence, that the regiment of Cosel were marching out of Wels and Ossau, and he ordered them to be immediately attacked by 500 croats, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Macquire, which was done with such vigour, that, after a resistance that lasted an hour and a quarter, the croats defeated the whole regiment, having killed the lieutenant-colonel, three captains, five lieutenants, five ensigns, and 340 men; taking the colonel, four cap-

captains, four lieutenants, four enſigns, and 188 men priſoners; with a booty of four pieces of cannon, three pair of colours, the military cheſt, and all their baggage; the croats having but ten men killed and eighteen wounded. CHAP. III. 1742.

As Prince Charles of Lorrain was now fulfilling the prediction of the glorious Eugene, who, from the regimental diſcipline, diligence, and aſſiduity, of the young hero, foretold he would acquire the character of a complete general; the digreſſion may well be pardoned, that traces the firſt military rudiments of this accompliſhed prince; thus, in his youth, renewing thoſe laurels that his illuſtrious grandfather, Charles Leopold, had entwined round the coronet of Lorrain; and, in the dawn of manhood, eclipſing all the glories of France; who ſnatched the palm of victory from the too ambitious King of Pruſſia; ſupported the luſtre of the Auſtrian line; and baffled the moſt conſummate and experienced generals of the preſent age.

THIS prince is the younger brother of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, ſince elected Emperor of Germany, and ſecond ſon to Leopold Duke of Lorrain, and Elizabeth Charlotte, daughter to the late Duke of Orleans: he was born on the 12th of December 1712; during his minority he ſhewed a fondneſs for the martial life, and was diſtinguiſhed for his genius, which wanted no cultivation. He made an early appearance in the army, and, from his firſt entrance into the military ſtate, his affable deportment and ſteady reſolution, ſo ingratiated himſelf with the ſoldiers, that he was, and not undeſervedly, ſtiled the delight of the army. Having paſſed through all the inferior degrees in the imperial ſervice, ſoon after the commencement of the

war

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war between the Emperor and Ruſſia againſt the Turks, in the year 1738, Prince Charles was preferred to a regiment; and, after giving eminent proofs of his gallant behaviour in the Turkiſh war, was promoted to the rank of general of the artillery; but, upon the concluſion of the peace at Belgrade, he applied himſelf to ſtudy the theory of that military art he ſince reduced into practice. His highneſs was now in the 30th year of his age, was well proportioned, neither fat nor lean, and rather tall than of a middle ſtature; genteel and affable, temperate in diet, and negligent in dreſs, but his air at once diſcovered the man of conſequence and the ſoldier. He had entirely won the affections of his men, and though ſomewhat haughty in his behaviour to the officers, yet the dignity of his family, and the proximity of his alliance to the Queen of Hungary, made them chearfully condeſcend to his authority; and this ſubmiſſion to their general, greatly contributed to the ſervice of their ſovereign, as the German officers unwillingly pay obedience to a general of their own rank.

PRINCE LOBKOWITZ was older, and had commanded with Count Wallis and Count Neuperg in the Turkiſh war, where he ſignalized himſelf ſufficiently to ſhew that he was deſerving of an important truſt; for though he commanded a third part of the German army when the peace was concluded at Belgrade, his character was unimpeached, while Count Wallis and Count Neuperg were arreſted, by an imperial order, on a ſuſpicion of negligence in their duty.

THESE princes were now to oppoſe the King of Pruſſia, and two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed generals in the armies of France. His Pruſſian majeſty

majeſty was almoſt a year younger than Prince Charles; his bravery was great, and by the aſſiſtance of able generals, with the beſt regulated troops in the world, he had rendered himſelf one of the moſt formidable princes among the powers of Europe. Marſhal Broglio had ſpent almoſt threeſcore years in the military ſervice, and had acquired a diſtinguiſhed reputation when he commanded in Italy, during the late war between the Emperor Charles VI. and the crown of France. Marſhal Belleiſle was alſo advanced in years; he was a nobleman of great genius, and equal ambition, and had paſſed all his life in the profeſſion of arms, having ſtudied war as a ſcience; he was active and enterprizing, and brave ſometimes to exceſs; he was beloved by the ſoldiers, whom he ſupported from the oppreſſions of inferior officers; and was an able and experienced general. CHAP. III. 1742.

MARSHAL BROGLIO, having intelligence that the court of Vienna would ſpeedily ſend a numerous reinforcement to the Auſtrian armies in Bohemia and Moravia, determined to get poſſeſſion of the beſt fortified places, for the ſecurity of his army, if the Auſtrians ſhould happen to take the field with a ſuperior force to the allies. Prague was already ſecured by a numerous garriſon of French and Bavarians; and Egra was the next formidable place that attracted the obſervation of the marſhal. This city is ſituate on a river of the ſame name, 75 miles weſt of Prague, near the confines of the Upper Palatinate, to which it formerly pertained, and is the ſecond place of conſequence in Bohemia, being fortified with a double, and in ſome parts, with a treble wall, and a very ſtrong caſtle. To reduce this city, Marſhal Broglio detached a ſtrong body of French

and

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and Bavarians, under the command of Count Maurice of Saxe, a general who afterwards, by his noble actions, acquired a glorious reputation, and was dignified for his eminent services with honours never before conferred on any subject of France, excepting the immortal Turenne. Count Saxe invested the town on the 23d of March; the garrison maintained a vigorous resistance till the 19th of April; when, finding it impossible to receive any relief from the Austrian army, they obtained a capitulation, and surrendered the town, being allowed to march out with the honours of war, four pieces of cannon, and two covered waggons, and to be conducted to Passau; but with a restriction not to bear arms against the emperor, or his allies, till ransomed or exchanged by cartel.

DURING the siege of Egra, the Austrian reinforcements arrived, when Prince Charles had under his command an army consisting of 30,000 infantry, and 18,800 cavalry; while Prince Lobkowitz found himself at the head of 11,000 foot and 5,000 horse.

As soon as Prince Charles put his army in motion, both the Prussians and Saxons retired out of Moravia, with great precipitation; suffering considerable losses in their retreat; and what appeared very extraordinary, they moved different ways, the former towards Silesia, and the latter towards Leutmeritz, a city of Bohemia, situate on the river Elbe, on the confines of Saxony, and twenty-five miles N. of Prague. This wide retreat abandoned the French and Bavarians to the mercy of the Austrians, as they were now in danger of being attacked by the united forces under Prince Charles and Prince Lobkowitz; but, before the Austrians could effect

fect this union, the King of Pruſſia, having received a ſtrong reinforcement of 32,000 men, under Prince Leopold of Anhalt Deſſau, entered Bohemia, and with the utmoſt celerity endeavoured to circumvent the motions of the Auſtrians, and prevent their junction. His Pruſſian majeſty accompliſhed his intentions; and, having advice that Prince Charles was making for Prague, the king reſolved to aſſemble his army at Chrudim, about forty miles S. E. of Prague; where, on the 13th of May, the Pruſſian army entered the camp in three lines, and pitched their tents on the eminence of Chrudim; having its right wing towards a village called Medleſchiitz, and the left towards the rivulet called Chrudimka: but his majeſty, being informed that the Auſtrians were encamped at Setſch and Boganow, and began to make incurſions on the other ſide the Elbe at Nimbourg, Podiebrad, and Pardubitz, where the Pruſſian magazines were diſtributed; and alſo that 500 of the Hungarian infantry, and about 3 or 4,000 huſſars, had taken poſſeſſion of Czaſlaw, a town thirty-five miles S. E. of Prague; the king, imagining Prince Charles intended to cut off his proviſions, and prevent his junction with the French; or that the prince deſigned to march towards Prague, where his majeſty was apprized he held a ſecret correſpondence among the principal lords and inhabitants: to fruſtrate ſuch deſigns, his majeſty, on the 15th of May, at the head of the van guard, conſiſting of ten battalions, ten ſquadrons of dragoons, and ten ſquadrons of huſſars, marched directly through Hermanmieſtitz on the hill of Chotiebors, leaving the command of the army to Prince Leopold of Anhalt, general of foot, with orders to fol-

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low him the next day, so soon as the waggons of bread arrived. The king was scarcely got to the rising grounds of Chotiebors, when he ranged his troops in a very good post, and went out, to get intelligence of the Austrians, with the hussars, upon an adjacent hill, where he distinctly saw a camp, which he judged to be of nearly 7 or 8,000 men. This body of troops was the van of the Austrian army; who, having mistaken the Prussian van for the body of the army, drew back in the night, and joined their whole force: on this his Prussian majesty sent orders to Prince Leopold, to march at break of day in order to go and incamp at Chotusitz, a village near Czaslaw, and to make himself master of that town; when Prince Leopold sent his majesty intelligence, that he had perceived the camp of the whole Austrian army, and that the deserters had declared that Prince Charles of Lorrain was there with all his forces: on which his majesty returned for the army on the 17th.

In the mean time Prince Charles received intelligence of these motions of his Prussian majesty; and understanding that the king was making a forced march to reach Czaslaw, he came to a resolution to attack them; and for that purpose quitted the camp at Willimow, left the baggage at Ranow, and on the 16th of May marched for Czaslaw, where he arrived, with the whole army, about two o'clock in the morning, and before Prince Leopold had been able to attack it, on account of his long march, and the darkness of the night on his arrival at Chotusitz. Prince Charles received advice that the Prussians had posted themselves behind the village of Chotusitz, and that it was impossible for them to avoid a battle: on which, without the

the leaſt repoſe, he began to draw up his troops in order of battle, and advanced in excellent order to attack the Pruſſians. CHAP. III.

THE Auſtrian army conſiſted of ſixty-two ſquadrons of horſe, thirty-ſix battalions of foot, beſides the Croats, and the Seriners, four regiments of huſſars, and two regiments of Raſcians. The Pruſſian army conſiſted of thirty battalions of foot, ſixty ſquadrons of cuiraſſiers and dragoons, and ten ſquadrons of huſſars. His Pruſſian majeſty, perceiving the Auſtrians were marching up in lines, ordered Prince Leopold to leave his camp, to get to the riſing ground; to reinforce his firſt line of foot; and to leave in the ſecond line, the vacancy that was neceſſary for the ten battalions and the ten ſquadrons which the king was bringing with him. His majeſty arrived in his poſt half an hour after ſeven in the morning, juſt as the Auſtrians were approaching, and formed his cavalry in the form of a crutch, or a carpenter's ſquare, on a hill; ſo that it extended with a greater front than that of the Auſtrian horſe. The Pruſſian army was all ranged in battalia, in the moſt advantageous and regular diſpoſition: and the Auſtrians, being advanced within 2,000 paces of the Pruſſians, the latter began to cannonade them with their twenty-four pounders; and, notwithſtanding the terrible execution of the Pruſſian artillery, the firſt line of the Auſtrians advanced in front with the utmoſt intrepidity. The Auſtrian huſſars were detached to harraſs the Pruſſians; but meeting with repulſe, fell back on their body of reſerve, and put it in confuſion: and a regiment, which covered the left wing, having been routed at the ſame time by the Pruſſians, was the occaſion of diſordering three 1742.

PART III. 1742. other Auſtrian regiments. However the reſt of the line, undiſmayed at this accident, advanced with all imaginable bravery. Lieutenant-General Buddenbrock charged at the head of the Pruſſian cavalry, who quite overthrew and broke the firſt line of the Auſtrians; when a thick duſt aroſe, and hindered the Pruſſians from making the beſt of all their advantages. Major-General Rottenbourg penetrated through the ſecond line of the Auſtrians, and was repulſed with loſs: while the cavalry of the ſecond line of Auſtrians, attacked the right wing of the Pruſſians in flank, and cauſed a few ſquadrons to give ground. During this diſorder the Auſtrian horſe rallied, and attacked the Pruſſian cavalry with ſo violent a ſhock, that they, in their turn, gave way to the force of the Auſtrians, with conſiderable loſs. In the mean time, the right wing of the Auſtrian infanty pierced as far as the village of Chotuſitz, where the Pruſſians had poſted two battalions of the regiment of Schwerin, which the Auſtrians attacked, ſet fire to the village, and even puſhed the Pruſſians into their camp. This brought up the Pruſſian horſe, who were followed by the Auſtrian cavalry, where they engaged with the greateſt obſtinacy and fury: the troops on all ſides behaved with ſurprizing reſolution and bravery: the Pruſſians, animated by the preſence of their royal leader, performed wonders; and the Auſtrians, ambitious of exerting themſelves beneath the eye of their illuſtrious general, acted as became their reputation. The battle was now become general; the two armies were enveloped with ſmoke and duſt; the day was obſcured; and ſcarce could the brave man tell where to direct his ſword for proper execution: the diſploſion of the muſketry

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at once ſtifled the ſhouts of the vanquiſhers, and the groans of the vanquiſhed; fear was baniſhed, and nothing but zeal and ardour, for the honour of the day, reigned in the hearts of all the combatants. The battle was long dubious; fortune was now favourable to the Auſtrians, now inclined to the Pruſſians, and victory hovered over them in ſuſpence, uncertain where to beſtow the wreathe of glory. At length the Auſtrian cavalry gave way; and the Pruſſian regiments of Prince William and Waldow cut the whole regiment of Vettetz to pieces, which, however, greatly diſgarniſhed the left wing of the Pruſſians: but the Auſtrian infantry puſhed on very ſucceſsfully, and entered the Pruſſian camp; where, thinking the whole army of the Pruſſians fled before them, inſtead of improving this advantage, they imprudently fell to plunder the camp; and neither the entreaties nor menaces of their officers, could prevail on them to deſiſt. This gave the Pruſſian infantry an opportunity to rally themſelves, and, ſupported by their cavalry, they returned to the charge, and vigorouſly attacked the Auſtrians, when they were thus unprepared for a defence: this fatal incident decided the battle: Prince Charles ſaw the confuſion of his men, he ordered a retreat, and conducted it with ſo much prudence and ſecurity, that he acquired more honour in the well concerted meaſures for the preſervation of his men, than the King of Pruſſia did by maintaining the field of battle; who himſelf did the Auſtrians the juſtice to acknowledge, that their loſing the battle was neither for want of reſolution or courage.

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THE battle laſted from eight in the morning till noon, when the Auſtrians retired behind the rivulet of Czaſlaw, where they drew up again in order

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order of battle: they were purſued by Lieutenant-General Jeetz, with a few battalions, and Lieutenant-General Buddenbrock, with thirty ſquadrons, and the huſſars, who did little execution; and the Auſtrians reſumed their march in very good order, taking the rout to their camp of Willimow. Though the Pruſſians continued victorious in the field, they purchaſed the honour at an expenſive rate. Among the Auſtrian infantry 3,000 were either killed or wounded; but their horſe ſuſtained only an inconſiderable loſs, the whole, killed and wounded, not exceeding 600 men: the Major-Generals Frakenbergh and Welſh, and Colonel Fours, fell among the ſlain: the Major-Generals Marſhal and Pallant, and the Colonels Thierhim and Livingſtein, with Baron Hagenback, were the principal officers wounded, who, with 900 men, remained priſoners: the Auſtrians alſo loſt a few colours, with eighteen cannon, and one haubitz, which they were obliged to leave behind for want of carriages. The loſs of the Pruſſians was little inferior; this chiefly fell among the cavalry, who had 1,500 men killed, and 600 wounded; the infantry ſuffered leſs, having only 400 men killed, and 200 wounded: among the ſlain were three colonels, and one major; and among the wounded one lieutenant-general, two major-generals, one colonel, four lieutenant-colonels, five majors, Count L'Oſtange, about thirty other officers of horſe, and ſome of foot: the Auſtrians took 1,000 priſoners, and amongſt them Major-General Werdeck, who afterwards died of his wounds, and ſome other officers; they alſo carried off 2,000 horſes, 14 ſtandards, and two pair of colours.

WHILE

WHILE Prince Charles had been thus employed againſt the Pruſſians, Prince Lobkowitz was very active in diſturbing the French and Bavarians; and having undertaken the ſiege of the caſtle of Frauenberg, encamped at Sahai, to cover the ſiege. The French marſhals reſolving to protect the garriſon, and the Auſtrians having poſſeſſion of Budweis, a ſtrong town ſixty-two miles ſouth of Prague; a body of French and Bavarians, conſiſting of 20,000 men, advanced towards Budweis, to cut off the communication of the Auſtrians with that place, and to relieve the caſtle of Frauenberg. On their approach, Prince Lobkowitz quitted the ſiege, and took his cannon to Budweis. The French, on the 14th of May, came up and marched into the camp which had been quitted by the Auſtrians; who returned the ſame day from Budweis, attacked the French about ſix o'clock in the evening, and were every where ſucceſsful till night parted the two armies; but as Prince Lobkowitz ſuſpected that the French intended to cut off his retreat to Budweis, he marched back in the night towards that place to prevent them: on this account the French aſſumed the honour of the victory, though the Auſtrians did not loſe 200 men, and the French loſt above 500. CHAP. III. 1742.

MARSHAL BROGLIO, the next morning, made himſelf maſter of Tein, a little town about five miles eaſt of Frauenberg, and fifty S. W. from Prague, where there was a ſmall garriſon of Auſtrians; and afterwards encamped on each ſide the river in the neighbourhood of that place.

ABOUT the ſame time Prince Lobkowitz ſent a detachment of Croats, under the command of General Nadaſti, to attack the French garriſon

at

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at Piſeck, a town on the Muldaw to the ſouth of Tein: the general ſummoned the French, who refuſed to ſurrender; on which the Croats plunged through the river, ſwimming with their ſabres in their mouths, and ſcaled the walls; which ſo intimidated the garriſon, that they made little reſiſtance, and threw down their arms, ſtruck with the greateſt aſtoniſhment at the reſolution of the Croats, who found ſome conſiderable magazines in the place. While General Nadaſti was executing his orders, Prince Lobkowitz appeared before Pilſen, a ſtrong town ſituate on the river Catburz, forty miles S. W. of Prague, and ſoon obliged the garriſon to ſurrender priſoners of war; where he took 25 officers and 560 men; as alſo nine large cannon, ſix mortars, and a great quantity of proviſions and provender for the men and horſes.

On the 16th of May Marſhal Belleiſle ſet out for the Pruſſian camp at Chotuſitz to confer with his majeſty, and afterwards proceeded to Dreſden, with a view to eſtabliſh the two monarchs in the intereſt of the Emperor and France; becauſe the French miniſtry, deeming their alliance too precarious, were determined to try every effort to preſerve a confederacy, whoſe diſſolution muſt be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to the views of the court of Verſailles. But, notwithſtanding the abilities of this able negociator, all his ſchemes were fruſtrated, all his attempts diſappointed: the King of Pruſſia, and Elector of Saxony, were both jealous of the views of France, and they ſuſpected the court of Verſailles had no real intention of aſſiſting the Emperor, for the conſervation of the peace of the empire: and though France had poured her armies into the heart of Germany, under the plauſible diſguiſe

diſguiſe of a guarantee of the treaties of Weſtpha- CHAP.
lia, by which the conſtitutional rights, liberties, III.
and independence of the ſeveral ſtates that com-
poſe the Germanic body are ſupported; yet the 1742.
courts of Berlin and Dreſden now looked on her preparations in a different light, conjecturing, that the ſole views of her policy were founded on principles of diſuniting the powers of Germany, of weakening the reſpective princes that ſtood in the beſt capacity of preſerving the ſecurity of the empire and preventing any deſigns meditated to incroach on the limits and freedom of the ſtates; and, in particular, to debilitate the ſtrength of the houſe of Auſtria: they perceived, that however this was effected, whether with or without the aſſiſtance of France, her ſchemes were equally accompliſhed: they were ſtartled at the reflection of ſuch imminent danger pointing out the fate of Germany; they ſaw their ſecret enemy, like a peſtilence, enter the bowels, and prey on the vitals of their country; they looked through her mighty plan, and perceived that when one power was deſtroyed, another muſt be diſmembered, and another attacked, till France ſhould either reduce the whole body to ſlavery, or annihilation; they therefore found themſelves obliged to renounce the treaty of Nymphenburgh, and recede from an alliance ſo deſtructive to the liberties of the whole German community, ſo dangerous to their own ſecurity, and ſo pernicious to the ſafety, freedom, and exiſtence of every monarch, prince, and ſtate in Europe.

For the arrival of this happy day, ſo eſſentially neceſſary for the protection of Germany, and the ballance of the European power, the Britiſh miniſtry were filled with the ſtrongeſt wiſhes; but they knew ſuch a favourable event

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could be effected only by a patient expectation of opportunities, and a politic improvement of casual advantages, which their ambassador, the Earl of Hyndford, had received the strongest directions diligently to embrace, and carefully increase; and who lost no opportunity, neglected no means, and spared no assiduity in promoting an accommodation between the Queen of Hungary with the King of Prussia and Elector of Saxony. The court of Vienna now as sensibly perceived the necessity of engaging the courts of Berlin and Dresden to desert the confederacy formed against the house of Austria, and were willing to obtain their friendship, on much severer terms than had been formerly offered by the King of Prussia.

THE Queen of Hungary had empowered the Earl of Hyndford to conclude a treaty of amity with the King of Prussia: this nobleman closely attended the Prussian camp, and having held frequent conferences with his majesty, at length, after the battle of Czaslaw, in conjunction with Count Podewils, the Prussian secretary of state, a separate treaty of peace was agreed on, and the preliminary articles signed at Breslaw on the 11th of June 1742, between her majesty the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majesty the King of Prussia, of which the following were the principal articles:

BY the 5th article, "The Queen of Hungary "yielded in perpetuity, and in full sovereignty, "to the King of Prussia and his successors, as "well the low as the high Silesia, except the "principality of Teschen, the city of Troppau, "and the country lying between the Opau and "the high mountains bounding upper Silesia; "as also the lordship of Herrendorff, and other

"districts

" districts which belong to Moravia, though CHAP.
" included by the upper Silesia. In like man- III.
" ner her majesty yielded to the King of Prussia, 1742.
" the city and castle of Glatz, and all the coun-
" ty of that name. And in return, his Prussian
" majesty renounced all pretensions whatsoever
" on the Queen of Hungary.

By the 6th article, " The King of Prussia a-
" greed to preserve the catholic religion in its
" present state, as also the inhabitants of the
" country in their possessions, liberties, rights,
" and privileges, without derogation to an en-
" tire liberty of conscience granted to protest-
" ants, and the rights of the sovereign.

By the 7th article, " The King of Prussia
" charged himself, wholly, with the repayment
" of what was lent by the English merchants on
" the security of the revenues in Silesia, by the
" contract of London, dated the 21st of Janu-
" ary 1735.

By the 8th article, " A general amnesty was
" declared on both sides, and hostilities imme-
" diately to cease; and that such inhabitants of
" Silesia as should chuse to leave the country,
" should be allowed five years to sell their ef-
" fects, without being subject to any tax or im-
" position.

And by the 11th article, " The two con-
" tracting parties agreed to comprehend in these
" preliminaries of peace, his Britannic majesty,
" both in his regal quality, and as Elector of
" Hanover, the Empress of Russia, the King
" of Denmark, the States General, the house
" of Wolfenbuttle, and the Elector of Saxony;
" provided, that within sixteen days after the
" notification of the signing of this treaty, the
" Elector of Saxony should withdraw his forces

PART III. "from the French army in Bohemia, and out "of all the dominions of the Queen of Hun-"gary."

1742. By this treaty the politics of France were entirely eluded; the King of Pruſſia and Queen of Hungary were no longer divided; and this was accompliſhed by the Britiſh negociations. Though neceſſary as it was, the Queen of Hungary now yielded up the whole province of Sileſia to his Pruſſian majeſty, a province 200 miles in extent, well inhabited, and furniſhing 300,000 *l.* annual revenue, only for his neutrality; and if her majeſty, in the preceding year, had but ceded to the king the bare moiety of this duchy, ſhe might then have obtained his whole ſtrength and aſſiſtance, in maintaining the pragmatic ſanction, and all his intereſt in promoting the Grand Duke of Tuſcany to the imperial throne. She was now the more inclined to relinquiſh ſo great a part of her rights, in a confidence of future ſupport from the Britiſh nation, in return for this extraordinary conceſſion; and, though the King of Pruſſia was readily inclined to accept of an advantage he never expected, yet he the more eagerly embraced it, manifeſtly from an apprehenſion of the iſſue of the conteſt, which grew precarious, upon the exertion of the Britiſh power. France was indeed deluded by this treaty, as ſhe determined nothing leſs than to canton out every territory of the houſe of Auſtria amongſt the confederates; and her diſappointment was increaſed, when ſhe found the Elector of Saxony alſo diſjointed from the Nymphenburgh alliance, in purſuance of theſe preliminaries: but though, by this deſertion of Pruſſia and Saxony, the ballance of the war was turned, and at leaſt 50,000 men taken away from the ſcale of France, yet

all

all her projects were not disconcerted; for if she could not totally, yet she greatly, diminished the power, possessions, and revenue of the house of Austria. CHAP. III. 1742.

THIS preliminary treaty, and the cessions thereby made, were fully renewed, confirmed, and ratified, in favour of his Prussian majesty, by the definitive treaty of peace between the same powers, concluded and signed at Breslau, the 28th of July following; of which preliminary and definitive treaty, his Britannic majesty guaranteed the execution, the first on the 24th of June 1742, and the latter by the defensive treaty of alliance, concluded between their Britannic and Prussian majesties at Westminster, the 18th of November following.

As soon as the notification of the preliminary treaty was made to the Elector of Saxony, his troops in Bohemia were immediately ordered to halt, till further instructions. A negociation was set on foot, and a peace concluded between him and the Queen of Hungary, which was proclaimed at Dresden the 17th of September; and by which, the queen yielded to his Polish majesty, as Elector of Saxony, some places in the circles of Elnbogen, Satzer, Leutmeritz, and Buntzlaw in Bohemia; in consideration whereof the elector guaranteed to her the rest of Bohemia.

WHILE these important negociations were carrying on, the French and Bavarians were left to contend by themselves. Prince Charles of Lorrain, after the battle of Czaslaw, marched towards Budweis, and joined Prince Lobkowitz in the camp at Wesell, where the two armies formed a body of 60,300 men; and having, for several days, endeavoured in vain to bring the

French

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French to a battle, out of their camp at Frauenberg, at last, upon the 5th of June in the evening, Prince Charles was informed that Marshal Broglio had detached a body of 5,000 men, most of them horse and dragoons, on the other side of the Moldau, under the command of the Duke of Boufflers, in order to make himself master of Tein, Lomnitz, and some other posts in the neighbourhood of Budweis. Upon this, Prince Charles decamped that evening, and advanced towards Tein; next morning he marched, with four battalions and fifteen squadrons of cuirassiers and hussars, to attack the Duke of Boufflers; and found the French drawn up in order of battle, advantageously posted, having their infantry and some field pieces in the center. Prince Charles himself attacked them at the head of the cuirassiers, with such fury, that he soon put their infantry and part of their cavalry into disorder. At last the French carabineers, sustained by their dragoons, repulsed the Austrian cavalry; but the Austrians rallying, and coming a second time to the charge, the shock was so great, that not only the French carabineers and dragoons, but the whole corps was broken, and fled with great precipitation, leaving behind them their cannon, ammunition, and the greatest part of their baggage, and above 2,000 men killed or taken prisoners, and amongst the latter was the Marquis de Villemur. Several regiments of horse and hussars, together with large bodies of Croats and Waradens, were immediately detached to pursue them, who killed great numbers, and took many prisoners. When Marshal Broglio heard of this defeat, he decamped with such precipitation, that the military chest, and a great part of the baggage, were left in the camp, and became

became a prey to the Auſtrians, who immediately entered the camp, and ſoon after took the fortreſſes of Frauenberg, Piſeck, and other places, where the French had poſted ſmall garriſons to favour their retreat to Prague, which they effected, in ſmall parties, with the greateſt confuſion and timidity, and never ventured to look back, till they found themſelves under the protection of the cannon of Prague; where they were joined by Marſhal Belleiſle, on his return from Dreſden. Prince Charles ſoon advanced with his army towards Prague; and the French marſhals, appriz-ed of the treaty of Breſlau, endeavoured to give the ſtrongeſt ſecurity to their army, againſt the attack of the Auſtrians.

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THIS city, ſo remarkable for the extraordinary ſiege ſuſtained there by the French, under the Marſhals Broglio and Belleiſle, is the metropolis of Bohemia, pleaſantly ſituated on the large river Moldau, 150 miles N. W. of Vienna, 100 N. E. of Ratiſbon, and 70 S. of Dreſden. Few cities in Europe have a larger extent than Prague, which is divided into three parts, called the old, the new, and the middle city. The old city, on the eaſt of the Moldau, is very populous, and full of handſome, but old-faſhioned houſes; in which ſtands the univerſity, one of the moſt celebrated in Europe: and in this quarter, great numbers of wealthy Jews have their reſidence. The new city was formerly ſeparated from the old by a wall, but now only by a ditch, into which the river can be let at pleaſure. The leſſer town lies on the weſt of the Moldau, and joins to the old town by a bridge of ſixteen arches, being in all 1,700 feet long, and 35 broad, with two large gates under two ſpacious towers, one at each end, which makes this bridge one

of

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of the nobleſt ſtructures in the world, it being 400 feet longer than Weſtminſter bridge, and 780 feet longer than London bridge: part of this town is built on a riſing ground, at the top of which ſtands Upper Prague, where is a magnificent palace belonging to the crown. Prague is pleaſantly ſurrounded by fine fields and gardens, and adorned with a great many elegant houſes, churches, and convents: the inhabitants are computed to be about 100,000; and, excepting London, Paris, and Rome, no city has a greater concourſe of nobility and gentry, who are exceeded by none in affluence and grandeur, equalled by few in politeneſs and civility to ſtrangers. The whole city is encompaſſed with a wall, baſtions, and other works, a citadel in the new town, and a caſtle in the little town, well provided with cannon, which render it as ſtrong as a place of that extent can be; but it is commanded by the hills of Ginriſnitz, about a mile from the city: though if the inhabitants had exerted themſelves when the French and Bavarians firſt appeared before the city, they might have given them much trouble and difficulty; for in the year 1648, when General Koningſmark, with a numerous army, had ſurprized the little town, and was afterwards joined by Charles Guſtavus Prince Palatine, with a reinforcement of 10,000 men, they in vain made many attempts on the old and new city, while nothing could overcome the reſolution of the governor, who held out a conſiderable time, till news came of the concluſion of a general peace.

MARSHAL BROGLIO having detached 20,000 men, under the Duke de Harcourt, into Bavaria, the French garriſon in, and army under, the walls of Prague, conſiſted now of 24,000 of

of their moſt valuable troops; and their beſt cavalry a part of that number; they were buſily employed in fortifying their camp, which they choſe on a very convenient ſpot of ground, being a ſort of peninſula, formed at the north end of the city by the winding of the river Moldau, by which the right, left, and rear, were ſecured againſt any attack, ſo that they had nothing but a narrow front to guard, and this was defended in flank by the cannon upon the ramparts of the city, as well as by the ſtrong retrenchments they had raiſed in front, between the town and the river. CHAP. III. 1742.

PRINCE CHARLES and Prince Lobkowitz, with the combined armies, amounting to 60,000 men, on the 25th of June, arrived within ſight of Prague, and encamped on the hills of Ginriſnitz, about a mile and quarter from the city; from whence the army marched and encamped at Konigſhall, nearer to Prague, where, on the 27th, the Grand Duke of Tuſcany arrived in the camp.

THE appearance of the Auſtrian army, convinced the French the force of oppoſition would be of little ſervice, and they reſolved to try if they could extricate themſelves by ſtratagems of negociation. With this view, the French ſent a trumpet to demand a conference, and the ſame being granted, Marſhal Belleiſle, on the part of the French, and Count Konigſegg, on the part of the Auſtrians, met at a place appointed near the Auſtrian head quarters, where the marſhal opened the conference, by ſaying, "He had inſtructions from his court to treat of "a general peace." As ſuch a propoſition was expected, the count was prepared to make a proper reply, and anſwered, "That his ſovereign,

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"the Queen of Hungary, would hearken to no "propoſals of that kind, without firſt conſulting "her allies;" which put an end to the conference. The Auſtrian miniſtry ſuggeſted ſuch overtures would be attempted, and they knew the French would make advantageous propoſals to get delivered out of their confinement: but how could they truſt to ſuch inſidious offers, and rely upon the faith of that perfidious power! Or how could they venture to conclude a new capitulation with the very body of troops, who, had they not, contrary to all military honour and rules of war, broke a late capitulation, by which they ſaved their lives at Lintz a few months before, could not have been at Prague in that conjuncture, to have demanded a ſecond opportunity to abuſe the mercy of a generous victor! It might, with great reaſon, be apprehended, that the French, if they had eſcaped from their embarraſſment by accommodation, would have looked on any ſuch treaty as only a ceſſation of arms, which they had procured, as a temporary expedient, to deceive thoſe as would be weak enough to confide in their engagements, and to ſhun one of the moſt weighty blows that France had ever felt in any ſingle campaign.

WHEN Marſhal Belleiſle, ſo eminent a ſtateſman, found the Auſtrians were too wary to be trapanned in his cobweb negociations, he held ſeveral other conferences with Count Konigſegg, concerning a capitulation for the ſurrender of the place: the French offered to evacuate Prague and all Bohemia, the fortreſſes of Egra and Frauenberg included, on permiſſion of marching off with their artillery, arms, and baggage; but the court of Vienna inſiſting they ſhould ſurrender priſoners of war, the conferences were entirely broke

broke off, and the place being inveſted on all ſides, the trenches were opened on the 28th of July. CHAP. III.

THE ſame day General Feſtititz, with a corps of 10,000 men, chiefly horſe, compoſed of Hungarian volunteers, and the militia of that kingdom, received orders to approach Old Prague, in order to ſtraiten the city on that ſide, where he poſted himſelf that night. The French marſhal, perceiving his deſign, ordered the Duke de Grammont, and Prince Clermont, with two regiments of foot and ſeveral regiments of horſe, being a body of 8,000 men, to prepare themſelves and ſally out on the Auſtrian quarters. On the 29th at day-break, the French advanced with ſome field pieces in their front, and found General Feſtititz, with his forces drawn up in good order, ready to receive them, at the diſtance of three quarters of a mile from the ſuburbs. As the troops commanded by General Feſtititz, were moſt of them young gentlemen who had never ſeen an enemy in the field before, he thought it neceſſary to encourage them, and rode between their ranks, exhorting them to behave with ſpirit and reſolution upon this occaſion, for their own reputation and their national honour. The French began the attack with extraordinary vigour, and the ſhock of their cavalry was ſo impetuous, that the right wing of Hungarian horſe had certainly been overturned, but for a fortunate motion made by General Zzaczky to ſuſtain them. The French fell with equal fury on the left wing, but were vigorouſly reſiſted; they returned thrice to the charge, but were not able to penetrate, notwithſtanding all their efforts. The French infantry in the centre made a terrible fire, till they were broken by 1742.

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the huſſars; and then they rallied, returned to their poſts, and continued the engagement with the greateſt obſtinacy imaginable. All this time the French had ſome field pieces at their head, the fire of which continued during the whole action. About eight o'clock the affair became general, and it was paſt ten before it could be diſcerned where the advantage inclined. General Feſtititz, about that time, made a motion as if he intended to take the French in flank on the left, which put them in diſorder, and obliged them to preſs on the cavalry and infantry in the center. The whole body of Hungarians now renewed the charge, making ſo warm and ſo regular a fire, that the French were obliged to retreat, and regain the ſuburbs; being purſued by the Hungarians under the very cannon of the ramparts and retrenchments, who made about 300 priſoners, having ſtrewed the field of battle with as many of their dead bodies, while the Hungarians had about 150 men killed, and 200 wounded; though there is room to be ſurprized that the loſs was not greater on both ſides, conſidering that the engagement continued five hours with incredible obſtinacy, and that the laſt diſcharge of the Hungarians, which decided the affair, happened when they were cloſe together. Prince Clermont, who behaved with great intrepidity, was dangerouſly wounded in the belly; and the Hungarians had ſeveral officers killed who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, and amongſt them, Lieutenant-Colonel Sirakhy, who commanded a body of the nobility of the county of Eyſenberg.

As the French concluded that General Feſtitirz would quickly take up his quarters in the ſuburbs, they took the moſt effectual method

they

they could to prevent it, by burning them down to the ground; and they also reduced to ashes most of the citizens country houses, within a small distance of the place. CHAP. III. 1742.

THE Austrians continued posting themselves in the best manner they could; and on the 17th of August, in the evening, began a parallel, by way of communication between their two posts of Schantz and Shillhorn: the 18th three batteries were begun, one at the left of Schantz, towards the town, and the other two beyond Shillhorn: about nine the same evening, the French began to fire from the ramparts upon the workmen, which continued all night; while the garrison were preparing for another sally. In the morning, about half an hour after three, a body of French, consisting of five brigades of foot, sixteen companies of grenadiers, 300 dragoons, and 300 carabineers, in all 6,000 men, commanded by a marshal de camp and two brigadiers, sallied out: they divided this force in two parts, the greater of which advanced to the right, and attacked the Swedish Schantz, where most of the guard had been detached to cover the different workmen; and, from a mistake among the Austrians, the French had an opportunity of making a very successful attempt. For when the Austrians began to break ground, their orders were given to the farthest advanced posts, "Not to "fire upon any account, but to retire as quick "as possible, and acquaint the commanding "officer if any part of the garrison advanc-"ed:" This order was transmitted from the advanced posts to one another afterwards, unknown to the officer on guard; and therefore all the Austrians that covered the new battery, and were advanced before their posts, came running

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ning back full ſpeed into the Schantz, with the French at their heels; whoſe fire upon the few that remained in it, was the firſt thing that alarmed them, who were not above 200; ſo that the French poured immediately into it, to the number of 3,500 men, and nailed up four pieces of cannon and ſome mortars. Mean while moſt of the different detachments, that had given way at the firſt alarm, rallied about 400 paces behind, where there was a lieutenant-colonel with 160 men; and, juſt about day-break, marched towards the French, who immediately gave way and fled into the foſſe of the town, without doing any other prejudice. On the left the French had the ſame ſucceſs; but Prince Charles's regiment, being in battalion behind the trench, chaſed them immediately out again. The loſs ſuſtained by the French, at both right and left, amounted to ſixty-one killed and wounded, and a captain of Navarre taken priſoner: the Auſtrians had a captain taken priſoner, but ſuffered leſs than the French.

THE French marſhals, perceiving that their laſt ſally had retarded the works of the beſiegers, judged there was no time to be loſt; and therefore reſolved to make another with all the forces they could ſpare out of garriſon. On the 22d, at about four in the afternoon, 12,000 French advanced, under Marſhal Belleiſle, who approached with the firſt party, and poſted himſelf at the left of the Swediſh Schantz, leaving the command of the right to the Duke de Biron. After a defence proportioned to the numbers, the French forced the Schantz; and, ſoon after, thoſe who guarded the communication gave way, it being flanked by the Schantz on the right, which entirely commanded it; but the left of the

the Auſtrians ſtood firm, nor could the Duke de Biron, with all his fire and intrepidity, ſurmount their bravery, or make them relinquiſh one foot of the ſoil of honour. The action continued exceeding ſharp for an hour; and the French, animated by the preſence and example of their glorious marſhal, exerted themſelves to admiration, fearing nothing, and aſpiring only to periſh gallantly beneath the eye of their idolized commander; but the Auſtrian picquets, of both infantry and cavalry, and a battalion of Merci's regiment coming up, after a warm fire, the French were firſt repulſed on the left, and afterwards chaſed out of the line of communication at the Schantz, in preſence of their marſhal, who retired behind the Schantz, from whence the French kept firing a little till he was gone, the works thrown up by the Auſtrians ſerving them for a parapet. General Philibert, though he had two horſes ſhot under him in advancing, marched forward in the cooleſt manner, with part of the Auſtrian cavalry, on the left of the infantry, till he brought the noſe of his third horſe upon the retrenchments, behind which the French continued firing. The Auſtrians here made a terrible diſcharge, paſſed over the works, and puſhed with incredible fury among the French; who, finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the torrent, retreated towards the town: the Duke de Biron, at the ſame time, felt the ſhock of the Auſtrian infantry; and, before ſeven, the French were chaſed every where into the foſſe of the town, by an inferior force; for though the whole Auſtrian army was ready, not half the infantry, and but few of the cavalry, were engaged. Sirmay's regiment of Hungarians followed the French to the edge of the foſſe; but, as the garriſon made a continual and well-ſerved fire

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fire from forty pieces of cannon on the ramparts of Prague, the Auſtrians could not carry their purſuit any farther. The French, during the engagement, nailed up four half mortars, and burned a few faſcines; but had 2,400 men killed and wounded; the Prince de Deux Ponts received a ſhot in his face, from a captain of Staſemberg's regiment, as he was calling the French to advance; but though he fell, the wound did not prove mortal. The Auſtrians loſt 800 men, killed and wounded; and the Grand Duke and Prince Charles, who highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the whole action, were frequently expoſed to the utmoſt danger; Prince Charles being every where active, and every where remarkable among the foremoſt of his men; and the Grand Duke eſcaped very narrowly, having his hat carried off by one of the cannon bullets.

THIS action ſo greatly harraſſed and diſcouraged the French, that they were obliged to abandon all their retrenchments without the town, and did not ſeem diſpoſed to undertake another attempt till the 25th; when, being St Louis's day, in honour of the king, they intended to attempt a general ſally, on which they depended as their laſt effort. Their deſign was to force the head quarters, and make their way through; upon which the two Marſhals, Belleiſle and Broglio, put themſelves at the head of the garriſon; but, perceiving the Auſtrian army ready to receive them, they retired into the town, without undertaking any thing.

THOUGH the Auſtrians had not yet advanced to batter the city, the French had all the melancholly proſpects of a ſiege before them: the marſhals had received poſitive orders to maintain the

place

place to the last extremity; and as the city had no out-works, they expected a practicable breach would soon be made in the body of the town; and then the garrison must either surrender prisoners of war, or be cut in pieces, unless this catastrophe was prevented by the arrival of the army under Marshal Maillebois to raise the siege; which the garrison were promised, and were in daily expectation of. CHAP. III. 1742.

THOUGH the French had diligently taken every opportunity of bringing provisions into the town; yet, by the time of the last sally, they began to be in great scarcity; and the Austrian hussars, continually scouring the country, prevented the excursions of the garrison, having cut 150 of them to pieces, and so strongly intimidated the rest, that they were afraid to venture out of the city. The French had now 2,000 men sick in their hospitals; the scarcity increased, and hunger was so severely felt among them, as to cause so extraordinary a desertion as to create a suspicion in the camp, that there might be some design in it, or that they had orders to desert.

PRAGUE, the late flourishing and happy capital of a spacious kingdom, with more than 100,000 citizens within its walls, was now subjected to all the calamities that war and famine could inflict: the miserable inhabitants were in the profoundest distress, an implacable enemy within their walls, without, their best friends obliged to aggravate their misfortunes, and act with the appearance of a declared foe. Though the besiegers, as their countrymen and fellow subjects, withheld the dreadful horrors of an actual siege; unwilling to let the murdering cannon hurl a promiscuous destruction alike on friend

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and foe, alike on the innocent and the guilty; yet, by no more than forming a blockade, with an intent to ſtarve the French to a ſurrender, the poor inhabitants felt every affliction in a greater degree than the French: they envied the ſoldier they ſaw periſhing in the battle; with them famine did a more dreadful execution: helpleſs, they ſpun out the laſt feeble thread of life, dying in heaps; multitudes of tender babes, whoſe eyes had but juſt gazed on the light, loſt their maternal nutriment, breathing out their little lives on the exhauſted boſoms now unable to yield them ſuſtenance; while the frantic mothers felt thoſe pangs of nature, were ſtruck with that poignant anguiſh, none but the parent could ever feel, none elſe could ever know; and let life ſtream from their bleeding hearts, ſwifter than the guſhing tear could pace down their faded cheeks, where once reigned all the bloom of beauty, now no more charming than the withered roſe, the little emblem of frail mortality. Ambition, theſe are thy honours; Lewis, theſe are thy glories; and tyrants, to theſe the eye of providence and heaven, is always open.

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Ad ſacra Vatum carmen Affero noſtrum. PERSIUS.

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